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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

"COMING HOME" TO MY NATIVE ROOTS:

JOURNEYS OF REDISCOVERY

BY

SANDRA DIAZ ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION.

IN

COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1993

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ISBN 0-315-82176-0

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DEGREE: MASTER OF EDUCATION

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: SPRING, 1993

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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "COMING HOME" TO MY NATIVE ROOTS: JOURNEYS OF REDISCOVERY submitted by SANDRA DIAZ in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY.

Dr. D.Donald Sawatzky, Ph. D.

Frances A. Hare

Dr. Frances Hare, D. Min.

MaryAnn Bibby

Prof. Mary Ann Bibby, M. Ed.

Date January 13, 1993

ABSTRACT

The experience of one Native woman and five Native men, who have made a decision to rediscover their Native roots, has been studied using a qualitative research method known as the Grounded Theory Approach. A model delineating the process of rediscovering Native roots was subsequently developed based on these six interviews. Although the initial intent of this study was to focus on the rediscovery of their roots through participation in Native rituals, interviewees included events that occurred prior to ritual participation. Because these events held for them special significance and formed an important part of their stories, they were respectfully included to provide a clearer picture of how they came to where they are today. Hence, the study begins with a narrow focus on the impact of rituals on the journey of rediscovering roots and ends with a broad focus on the whole journey. The process involved in rediscovering Native roots has been conceptualized as "Coming Home", the components of which include 1) Living according to Native cultural ways; 2) Moving away from Native cultural ways and living according to Dominant cultural ways; and 3) Moving towards Native cultural ways which brings them back "Home". The key elements which helped them move further into Native cultural ways were a) feeling enough emotional discomfort to want to do something about it, b) being exposed to some aspect of the Native cultures (e.g. cultural events, workshops, books written by Native people), c) feeling a strong emotional connection to cultural ways, d) having a Native support network such as key people to guide them as they make their journey towards Native cultural ways which is unknown territory, and e) engaging in rituals and ceremonies which helps them learn about the meaning of Nativeness and strengthens their identity as Native Indians. The model presents the process of "Coming Home" in a linear fashion for the sake of simplicity although in reality, this process happens in a circular, systemic fashion in which both the Native and the Dominant cultures interact with each other in a recursive way, each impacting on and reacting to the other.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest thanks to all my "friends" who took the time to participate in this study. You have made this study worthwhile because you have touched me with your personal stories. More importantly, it was through listening to the story of your journey towards discovering your cultural roots that I have begun to really appreciate and embrace my own. For this, I am indebted to you all. Robear and Ted, thank you for accompanying me when it was time to defend my thesis. Your physical presence and spiritual support during my defense was much appreciated.

I would like to express my deepest thanks to my thesis committee, Dr. Sawatzky, Dr. Hare and Prof. Bibby for supporting me and for believing in me. Without the encouragement, I would not have been able to carry this study through with speed and efficiency. I would like to express my deepest thanks to my thesis cheer-leading section, Linda Massimo and Marie Peiffer. You both have helped me tremendously through all the ups and the downs of doing graduate work. Thank you both for your love and moral support! To my friend, Harold Tookenay, my deepest thanks for all the help in giving me feedback on my project. I truly appreciate and cherish our friendship and I regret that the time we spent together was so short. You have been so good to me. Thank you for your love, support and for your wonderful sense of humour! You have never failed to remind me to laugh at life's silliness. I would like to thank Dr. Jack Sikand and Mr. Jim Clave both of whom have been a real source of encouragement to me throughout my career as a student and a researcher. Thank you both for taking such good care of me, for looking out for me and for keeping me employed so that I could continue my education!

Last but not least, I would like to thank Gary, my husband and soul mate, for putting up with me all through my years at University. Without you, I would not have had the energy or the stamina to carry this through. Thank you for loving me, for taking care of me, for listening to all my complaints and for making sure that I eat, sleep, and exercise right! Above all, thank you for your understanding and your patience. All my love...

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Research Question

Much has been written about North American Native people's contact with Europeans and how this marked the beginning of the dismantling of Native cultures and a way of life that had sustained the Native people for many centuries. The problems that resulted from Native people's being denied full access to their cultures and traditions, of which Native rituals form an integral part, abound (York, 1990), and this speaks volumes about the significance that their cultures and traditions hold for them. In his book entitled, *The Dispossessed: Life and Death in Native Canada*, York (1990) interviewed hundreds of Native people from approximately forty reservations and Metis communities across Canada on major issues presently facing Native people. Alcoholism, drug abuse, poverty, crime, suicides, racism and the struggle for self-government are some examples of those issues Native people have to deal with every day of their lives, issues that were created when the dominant world, deciding that Native cultures were "barbaric" and "savage" (York, 1990, p. 23), set out on a course to strip them of their cultures and force them to live like so-called "civilized" beings. York's (1990) extensive research reveals an oppressed people who have suffered and are suffering at the hands of a dominant world whose views and treatment of the Native people make their journey towards healing, health and wholeness excruciatingly difficult. However, that journey has not been impossible and has been foretold by the Prairie chiefs of the 1870's who, starving and demoralized, were themselves forced to surrender their lands to the Canadian government (York, 1990).

As foretold by the Prairie chiefs, Canada is witnessing the revival of the Native cultures where the Native people are finding renewed strength and confidence in their own abilities to deal with the outside world and to take pride in their identity as Native Indians (York, 1990). Native leaders like George Erasmus and Louis Stevenson, having mastered the art of negotiations and political strategy, have been successful at mobilizing the Native people to assert their rights in the courts, on the streets, and on the traplines and lakes (York, 1990). Elijah Harper became a national hero when he spearheaded the attack on the Meech Lake Accord and was successful, proving to the Canadian people that Native leaders can indeed be powerful and tenacious (York, 1990). In Canadian arts and literature, Native people like composer, John Kim Bell, and playwright, Tomson Highway, have through their work helped to make Native heritage more visible (York, 1990). Author, Dianne Meili, in her book entitled, *Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta's Native Elders*, has taken great care to collect the stories of many Elders across Alberta with the hope that her book "helps to elevate an elder's presence in his or her community, makes one person feel proud of her or his heritage, or sends someone to an elder for guidance" (Meili, 1991, p. xii).

Not all portrayals of the Native people and their heritage have been so positive and hopeful. On the contrary, more often than not, a grim picture is painted of events in Native communities (York, 1990). It is lamented and then quickly forgotten (York, 1990). This present study has not been written for the purpose of painting a grim picture of the lives of Native people, to be lamented and quickly forgotten. Rather than being problem-focused, which appears to have been the tradition of the medical model and of scientific research, I have chosen to be solution-focused. I have chosen to focus on the positive aspects of the Native cultures, to learn about and understand how a handful of Native people have made their journey towards healing, health and wholeness despite the difficulties they face. Specifically, I have chosen to learn about the personal journeys of Natives who have made a decision to learn about their Native roots through their traditions and rituals, and the role that this learning has played in their lives. Simply stated, the research question being asked is "What is the experience of Native Indians who have made a decision to rediscover their Native roots through participation in rituals?"

Coming Up with the Research Question: Biases and Preconceptions

I suppose my interest in the personal journeys of Natives who have made an effort to rediscover their Native roots by learning about their traditions and practising their rituals really began when I met my very first Native contact at an alcohol and drug treatment centre. I was initially interested in the relationship between Native music and Native Spirituality but somehow I changed my mind after that meeting. Looking back, I do not think that it was anything in particular that this individual had said to me to change my mind. Rather, it was everything. In the short time that I was there, he had told me about his many personal comedies as well as tragedies. He told me about the Sun Dance and the myth of the White Buffalo Calf Woman. He told me about the many individuals who have come to the treatment centre to try to take their knowledge from them and claim it as their own, and the others who made it their mission to bastardize what is sacred to Native tradition. When the time came for me to leave, this individual asked me to promise that I would always treat the Native way of life with honour and respect and I replied that I would not have it any other way.

What was special to me about this individual was that despite his very troubled past, he made a decision to clean up his act and to make a difference and today he counsels other Natives with alcohol and drug problems. He himself had begun to make the journey towards rediscovering his own Native roots and has told me that he has found peace. I found his message very touching and I suppose I wanted in my own small way to do something to give recognition to and to celebrate that experience. Thus, I found my research question. I wanted those of us in our ivory towers who know next to nothing about the Native cultures to recognize and to understand the struggles of the Native people and what they have been doing to heal themselves. Also, I suppose being a member of a minority who was not raised in her own country and having lived in Canada for only 12 years, I understand what it means to have been uprooted and to have very little sense of my own cultural traditions and rituals. I now realize how important it is to have a sense of grounding which having a cultural identity provides and I strongly support people who want to learn about their own roots which will ultimately help them understand who they are.

For this reason, I find it hard to imagine that there would be a Native individual who would not have found some healing at some level when he or she learns about his or her Native roots. This, I am aware, is one of my stronger biases. However, despite the paucity of published research on the experience and impact of rediscovering one's Native roots, there is strong evidence that having a sense of cultural tradition is important in helping to provide stability to an individual's identity and sense of self-worth. Jilek (1982), for instance, in his studies of the Guardian Spirit Dance or Ceremonial of the Salish Indians in British Columbia provides support for the importance of cultural revival in overcoming *anomic depression* which he suggests is the result of the "experiences of cultural confusion and relative deprivation" (p. 52). He further suggests that a person with this type of depression has a sense of existential frustration as well as lowered self-esteem, and often feels discouraged, defeated, morally disoriented, suffering from spirit illness (Jilek, 1982). Succinctly stated by one Salish Indian:

> The main reason for depression among Indians is loneliness, no more togetherness, and bitterness that they took away our land and our culture...The people should have a better life for what they have had to sacrifice in this country, this is one

> of the biggest reasons why people are so bitter...Most young people have no idea of their background and language, they go home to their little old shacks and half the time they're intoxicated, so they lose all their pride...My sons have always complained to me that they are the under-dogs, no matter where they go they feel they are discriminated, the only way they can be happy is in an Indian life [i.e., spirit dancing]...I guess they [new dancers] were depressed because they were bored by the sort of life they had. (Y.I.) (Jilek, 1982, p. 54).

Through the revival of the Guardian Spirit Dance, therapeutic resources of traditional native culture were mobilized to help rebuild and replenish the Indian spirit, to help rebuild an undermined sense of self-worth, purpose, integrity and dignity brought about by the forced dependency of the Natives on the dominant world (Jilek, 1982).

Since the revival of the Guardian Spirit Dance, many young Salish Indians, who have participated in the initiation, have successfully won the battle against anxiety, dysphoria, drugs and alcohol, and death (Jilek, 1982). Indeed, this example demonstrates the healing power of reconnecting with one's culture through the rituals of that culture. Given this example, understanding what rituals are about and what impact they have on people is important and the next section on the literature review will deal with this issue.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Introduction

The question of what rituals are about particularly with respect to what impact they have on people cannot be answered simply or easily. Far from simply being a mindless repetition of tasks, rituals are complex phenomena that cannot be understood without reference to their counterpart, myths. It was Joseph Campbell (1988) who once suggested that rituals and myths are inseparable for it is through the myths that the rituals are enacted. Simply put, myths are the basis for rituals (Campbell, 1988). To understand what rituals are about, it is imperative that we understand why myths are important and how rituals are related to them.

Myths and their Relationship to Rituals

Mythological thinking has been a part of the heritage of humankind for many centuries. The earliest tangible evidence dates back to the period of the Neanderthal Man, circa 250,000 to 50,000 B.C.E. (Campbell, 1972), undoubtedly, a very long time ago. Evidence included burials with food supplies, grave equipment, tools and sacrificed animals, suggesting, if not immortality, then at the very least, the coming of some kind of life (Campbell, 1972). Also found were chapels in high-mountain caves where ceremonially disposed cave-bear skulls were preserved, suggesting a cult that honoured the great manlike creature, the bear (Campbell, 1972). That mythological thinking has been around for so long certainly suggests the meaningfulness and purposefulness of myths to humankind. However, before we can understand what myth is about, we need to know with myth is.

According to Joseph Campbell (1989):

> Myth is Metaphor...Myths come from where the heart is, and where the experience is, even as the mind may wonder why people believe these things. The myth does not point to a

> fact; the myth points beyond facts to something that informs fact (p. 21).

Eliade (1984) relates an example of a myth from the Ngadju Dayak of Borneo:

> At the beginning, so the myth goes, the cosmic totality was still undivided in the mouth of the coiled watersnake. Eventually two mountains arise and from their repeated clashes the cosmic reality comes progressively into existence: the clouds, the hills, the sun and the moon and so on. The mountains are the seats of the two supreme deities, and they are also these deities themselves. They reveal their human forms, however, only at the end of the first part of the creation. In their anthropomorphic form, the two supreme deities, Mahatala and his wife, Putir, pursue the cosmogenic work and create the upperworld and the underworld. But there is still lacking an intermediary world, and mankind to inhabit it. The third phase of the creation is carried out by two hornbills, male and female, who are actually identical with the two supreme deities. Mahatala raises the tree of life in the "Center," the two hornbills fly over toward it, and eventually meet each other in its branches. A furious fight breaks out between the two birds, and as a result the tree of life is extensively damaged. From the knotty excrescences of the tree and from the moss falling out from the throat of the female hornbill, a maiden and a young man come forth, the ancestors of the Dayak. The tree of life is finally destroyed and the two birds end by killing each other (p. 142 - 143).

Needless to say, the myth of the Dayak is of a cosmogonic nature and is more complex than it appears when its symbols are understood (Eliade, 1984).

However, to put it simply, the myth, as shown in the example above, is a way of conceptualizing the world (Eliade, 1958), a way of making sense of the world through the medium of the narrative or story (May, 1991). Though the myth may be entertaining, its essence is to teach (Campbell, 1990). Its message as described by Roheim (1947), "is of timeless and placeless validity, true nowhere and everywhere" (p. 90). Through its symbols (Campbell, 1990), the novice is taught about the sacredness of the world and everything in it, having been created by Supernatural Beings (Eliade, 1958). As such, the novice learns through the myth that s/he is a part of that sacredness (Eliade, 1958), a part of that mysterious and wonderful universe, leaving her or him with the experience of awe, knowing that mystery underlies all things (Campbell, 1988).

The myth teaches the novice how things came into being, beginning with the creation of the world by Supernatural Beings, the coming of the mythical Ancestors, the Ancestors' cultural activities and demiurgic adventures, and ending with their disappearance (Eliade, 1958). The myth is, therefore, a story of a people's sacred history or beginnings and as such, must be carefully preserved and perpetuated (Eliade, 1958).

The myth also establishes the blueprint for all social and cultural institutions which will guide all human behaviours (Eliade, 1958), an important function if the people are going to live in harmony. In a sense, the myth may be thought of as the beams within a house that support the structure of the house, holding the house together, allowing people to live within it (May, 1991). With such a structure, people may learn of the eternal values that inform them about how to lead a centred life (Campbell, 1988), and ultimately to experience the "rapture of being alive" (Campbell, 1988, p. 5) as well as to realize that they are also of spiritual nature (Campbell, 1988). Without such a structure, antisocial disturbances will become more likely, creating imbalance and disharmony

(Coon, 1971). As Malinowsky (1984) so avidly states:

> Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it is not an idle tale but a hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom (p. 199).

Given the important role that myth plays in the lives of humankind as suggested by the various authors above, it would appear that an individual without some kind of myth to ground his or her life would in all likelihood be increasing the chances of leading a chaotic lifestyle. Indeed, it has been suggested that modernity as we know it is the epitome of a life without the great myths and without ethos (Campbell, 1988), resulting in the lack of mental health we see around us (May, 1991). The modern individual has embraced an individualistic ideology which democracy encourages (May, 1991), but at a high price.

The world modern people have created for themselves is a world demythologized (Campbell, 1988), and according to May (1991), the price they have paid for this "rootlessness" (p. 99) is loneliness, for without myth, there is no community. Without myth, there are no rituals for it is through the rituals that the myth is enacted (Campbell, 1988) and without rituals, the novice cannot be introduced to the mythological traditions, to the sacred history of humanity and to the spiritual and cultural values that accompany it (Eliade, 1958). On that note, let us now turn to the subject of rituals to examine what they are, what they do and how they are related to emotional health.

What are Rituals?

The term "ritual" is one that is much used inside, outside and across academic disciplines, so much so that its definitions abound (Roberts, 1988). The roots of its definition, however, began in the discipline of anthropology where many anthropologists have studied the nature of different cultures (Roberts, 1988). Victor Turner (1967), whose definition of ritual is commonly accepted, defined it as "prescribed formal behaviour for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers. The symbol is the smallest unit of ritual" (p. 19). Interestingly, however, he later went beyond his initial view on rituals to look into areas outside the religious realm such as politics, law and advertising, and indeed, found that the unit of the symbol was used in these secular areas as well (Roberts, 1988).

So important was this new learning that in 1974, he organized a conference in Burg Wartenstein, Austria, entitled "Secular Rituals considered", out of which the book, *Secular Ritual*, was produced (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977). In the book, Moore and Myerhoff (1977), who served as its editors, commented that it is not surprising that the anthropological focus on rituals has been of a religious nature, given that often the cultures chosen for study held a worldview in which everything was sacred. They also noted that if one were to examine societies whose evolution took on a more secular nature, one would find tenets and their accompanying rituals which fall outside the religious realm but are considered "sacred" or "special" nonetheless (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977). In explaining how they conceptualize such a ritual, Moore and Myerhoff (1977) speak about the many formal actions which ultimately protect a society's political ideology or system of authority. These formal actions or "rituals" give this ideology or system of authority an aura of unquestionability, ultimately making it sacred. Thus, it appears that the term "ritual" has gone beyond its traditional religious definition of involvement with mystical forces and the spirit world to include other sets of formal actions which may also be "imbued with meaning beyond the ordinary" (Roberts, 1988, p. 6).

Suffice it to say, whether one considers rituals to be sacred or profane or both, there seems to be characteristics which they all share (Rappaport, 1971). Rappaport (1971) in his paper entitled, *Ritual, Sanctity and Cybernetics*, lists six key characteristics of a ritual: Repetition, action, special behaviour or stylization, order, evocative presentational style or staging, and finally, the collective dimension.

Specifically, a ritual may be repetitive in its occasion, content or form, or any combination of the three (Rappaport, 1971). The individual participating in a ritual may in a sense be acting as if in a play so that s/he is doing something, saying something or thinking something (Rappaport, 1971). The actions or symbols used in the ritual may be extra-ordinary or "special" in and of themselves or they may be ordinary actions or symbols used in an unusual manner so that they are set apart from their usual mundane uses (Rappaport, 1971). Furthermore, to set it apart from the activities of the ordinary world, the ritual has a certain order to it, with a beginning, a middle and an end (Rappaport, 1971). Sometimes within this structured order, there are moments or elements of chaos and spontaneity which are built into the ritual at prescribed times and places (Rappaport, 1971).

Interestingly, Rappaport (1971) suggests that one reason for making sure that the ritual has this kind of evocative presentational style, which turns it into "something imbued with meaning beyond the ordinary" (Roberts, 1988, p. 6), is to at least produce in the participants and the spectators an attentive state of mind, a commitment to the process (Rappaport, 1971). In this way, all will lose the feeling of self-consciousness and gain the feeling of the ego-less state of a shared "flow" (Turner, 1977, p. 51). Indeed, not only does the ritual encourage this state of shared flow, the collective dimension of the ritual also encourages a shared social meaning and it is through its performance that this meaning or message is conveyed (Rappaport, 1971).

Myerhoff (1977) further extended the dimensions of rituals mentioned above to include the physiological aspects as well, highlighting the importance of the "costumes, masks, colors, textures, odors, foods, beverages, songs, dances, props, settings and so forth" (p. 199). Based on the physiological, sociocultural and psychological dimensions of rituals previously discussed, a working definition of ritual will be used in this particular study, adapted from the definition formulated by Roberts (1988) to suit its purposes. It is as follows:

> Rituals are co-evolved symbolic acts that include not only the ceremonial aspects of the actual presentation of the ritual, but the process of preparing for it as well. It may or may not include words, but does have open and closed parts which are "held" together by a guiding metaphor. Repetition can be a part of rituals through either the content, the form, or the occasion. There should be enough space in the rituals for the incorporation of multiple meanings as well as a variety of levels of participation (p. 8).

The open and closed parts that Roberts (1988) refers to provide the flexibility with which participants may vary certain components of rituals without changing their overall meaning. Given that we have established what rituals are, let us now turn our attention to what rituals do.

What Do Rituals Do?

To fully understand what rituals can do to us and for us, it becomes necessary to examine the different aspects of rituals. It becomes necessary to examine how rituals affect us physiologically, socioculturally and psychologically so that we have a better understanding of how rituals bring about healing. Needless to say, the research on each of these aspects has been for me astounding.

Beginning with the physiological aspects, many have been fascinated by the neurobiological effects of ritual participation. Indeed, ethnographers have observed for many years that people who participated in rituals displayed unusual behaviours (Lex, 1979). Interestingly, despite the lack of agreement in the rigour of observation, labelling and interpretation, it is believed that these patterned, repetitive acts or behaviours somehow affect the human nervous system (Lex, 1979). Chapple (1970), for instance, suggests that disequilibria in the body's biological rhythms is caused by dysfunctional, disparate emotional states, upsetting the usual basal patterns. However, that pattern is restored when the individual or individuals engage in repetitive acts (Chapple & Coon, 1942; Chapple, 1970). However, to further understand exactly how these biological rhythms were being affected, more studies were conducted to examine the neurobiological effects of something more manageable like repetitive stimuli as opposed to more complex repetitive acts or behaviours.

Chapple (1970), in an attempt to understand the neurobiological effects of repetitive stimuli, suggests that repetitive stimuli act to synchronize and entrain free-running body rhythms. Using musical rhythms as an example, Chapple (1970) states that:

> Voodoo drums, the regular and driving rhythms of revivalistic ceremonies, the incessant beat of jazz or its teenage variants in rock and roll, must synchronize the rhythms of muscular activity centered in the brain and nervous system. Combined with the dance or with other rhythmic forms of synchronized mass movement - stamping the feet or clapping the hands over and over again - the sound and action of responding as the tempo speeds up clearly "possess" and control the participant.

> The external rhythm becomes the synchronizer to set the internal clocks of these fast rhythms
> (p. 38).

Neher (1961, 1962) found that auditory stimulation produced by drum sounds of different frequencies and harmonics evokes in subjects effects such as unusual sensations, strong emotions, pseudoperceptions, myoclonic jerks and temporal distortions.

Like repetitive auditory stimulation, it is suggested that light, a repetitive photic stimuli, also acts as a primary synchronizer, entraining biological rhythms in humans and animals (Chapple, 1970). Neher (1962) investigated the effects of light on the electrocortical rhythms of the brain and indeed found that light quickly entrains the rhythms of the brain so that changes in the rate at which the light is flashed are followed by changes in brain wave frequency.

Lex (1979), in an attempt to relate the above findings to the broader context of the ritual, suggests that dancing in rituals can generate intense photic and auditory stimulation as the individual dances to musical tempi and instruments, and that this stimulation is enough to entrain brain rhythms. When motion is sustained, the body's proprioceptors are stimulated and may result in imbalances in the vestibulary centres in the ears and baroreceptors in the carotid sinuses, causing dizziness (Lex, 1979). Neher (1962) stated that not only is the body's biochemical environment affected by rhythmic stimulation during rituals. Other factors such as fasting, breathing in vapours or hyperventilation, which may be part of the ritual, affects the body's biochemical environment as well. These different factors, which are essentially physiological manipulations, together with the ritual context, are able to effectively generate enough stimulation to bombard the human nervous system, bringing about an altered state of consciousness Lex (1979) calls ritual trance (Lex, 1979). However, not all physiological manipulations are carried out to generate stimulation. Rather, certain manipulations, as in sensory deprivation or particular meditations, are carried out to control stimulation by blocking, reducing or holding it constant (Lewis, 1971; Lex, 1979). Interestingly, such manipulations also result in disequilibrium (Lewis, 1971). In any case, these findings suggest a range of sensory stimulation with upper and lower thresholds shaped by cultural and individual differences (Lex, 1979). When stimulation occurs below or beyond these thresholds, the neural excitation is altered, altering the organism's behaviour in the process, producing ritual trance (Lex, 1979).

Ornstein (1972) suggests that many forms of ritual trance like meditation and hyperkinetic behaviours are special charges of the right cerebral hemisphere which is mainly responsible for spatial and tonal perception, pattern recognition including internal states like emotions, and finally holistic, synthetic thought, whereas the left cerebral hemisphere is mainly responsible for speech production, linear and analytic thought, sequential information processing and assessment of length of time (Lex, 1979). Given the hemispheric specialization, Ornstein (1972) suggests that the distinctive emotions associated with the ritual trance experience is the responsibility of the right hemisphere and that in many rituals, the purpose is to evoke and accentuate the right hemisphere functions through subcortical and cortical excitement of the many neural structures involved (Lex, 1979) while holding constant or inhibiting the left hemisphere functions. It is for this reason that a mantra, for example, is verbalized during certain meditations so that the verbal-logical functions of the left hemisphere is controlled, freeing up the right hemisphere (Ornstein, 1972). Rhythmic stimulation produced by chanting and singing, dancing, handclapping or beating of percussion instruments also serve to engage the right hemisphere (Ornstein, 1972).

Of course, although each hemisphere is specialized, both hemispheres really complement the other so that behaviours involve complementary shifts between the right and the left hemispheres (Ornstein, 1972). Ornstein and Thompson (1984) conducted a study comparing the brain activities of individuals when they were reading written technical material versus written folktales. According to Ornstein and Thompson (1984):

> There was no change in the level of activity in the left hemisphere, but the right hemisphere was more activated while the subject was reading the stories than while he or she was reading the technical material. Technical material is almost exclusively logical. Stories, on the other hand, are simultaneous: Many things happen at once; the sense of a story emerges through a combination of style, plot, and evoked images and feelings. Thus, it appears that language *in the form of stories* can stimulate activity of the right hemisphere (p. 162).

Just like stories, rituals are simultaneous and stimulate activity in the right hemisphere (Roberts, 1988). Interestingly, Fischer (1972) suggests that the right hemisphere communicates its messages through the "language" of hallucinations. However, to further understand, without being bogged down by the Cartesian conceptualization of the mind-body distinctions, how the pertinent neurophysiological factors help to evoke and accentuate the right hemisphere, it is important that the roles that emotions and the biological rhythms play in this matter be understood (Lex, 1979).

Lex (1979), in examining the role of emotions and the biological rhythms, states that during ritual participation, not only are individuals exposed to the precise ritual performance of the other participants. They are also exposed to the symbols of these rituals and their meaning. Chapple (1970) suggests that these symbols represent "cultural shapings" (p. 60) of the neurophysiological events that take place during ritual trance which impact on behaviour. These neurophysiological changes give rise to emotional reactions (Chapple, 1970). As Lex (1979) simply states, "To summarize, symbols and behaviour both result from excitation in neurophysiological structures and are associated with emotional states" (p. 131). To understand the neurophysiological basis of these emotional reactions, Lex (1979) also examined the role that the autonomic nervous system (ANS) plays in ritual trance.

The autonomic nervous system (ANS), which comprises the sympathetic (SNS) and parasympathetic nervous systems (PNS), is a neural subsystem that mainly controls the emotions and vegetative functions (Lex, 1979). Very simply, the SNS, which is controlled from the anterior and central hypothalamus, is responsible for the preparation of the organism for emergency situations (Lex, 1979). In such situations that call for "flight or fight" responses, activity is channelled from the organs that are not immediately needed to flee or fight to the muscle structures of the body that are (Lex, 1979). In other words, to prepare the body to expend energy, blood is redirected from the viscera to the striated skeletal muscles where it is needed, blood pressure, heart rate and respiration escalate, perspiration escalates to keep the body cool, and digestive activities stop (Lex, 1979). On the other hand, the PNS, which is controlled from the posterior and lateral hypothalamus, protects the organism from the fatal effects of continuous SNS mobilization by inhibiting the sympathetic activity, restoring the organism's restful state by reversing the SNS responses, conserving the organism's energy (Lex, 1979). Indeed, the ANS generally works in an integrated fashion with the brain and the skeletal muscles, forming what Lex (1979) referred to as the autonomic-somatic integration.

This autonomic-somatic integration characterizes the ergotropic and trophotropic systems which, like the SNS and the PNS, work together in an oscillating fashion according to the organism's needs (Lex, 1979). When the ergotropic system is activated, the organism's sympathetic discharges intensify, its skeletal muscles contract further and its cerebral cortex excitation patterns exhibit "desynchronized" cortical rhythms (Gellhorn & Kiely, 1972). The organism is aroused, emotionally responsive and ready for action (Lex, 1979). However, when the ergotropic excitation reaches critical levels, the trophotropic system kicks in (Oswald, 1959). When the trophotropic system is activated, the organism's parasympathetic discharges intensify, its skeletal muscles relax and its cerebral cortex excitation patterns exhibit synchronized cortical rhythms (Gellhorn & Kiely, 1972). The organism is drowsy, sleepy or unaroused, emotionally unresponsive and inactive (Lex, 1979). Interestingly, this shifting ergotropic-trophotropic equilibrium is involved in what is called *tuning* which Gellhorn and Loofbourrow (1963) have defined as "the sensitization or facilitation of particular centers" (p. 91). What is being tuned here is the CNS (Lex, 1979). Lex (1979) suggests that understanding what tuning is about is important if we are to appreciate the nature of ritual trance and its subsequent effects. She suggests that the precisely performed behaviours called driving behaviours displayed during ritual participation are really elaborate ways of tuning the CNS and that these tuning methods have been employed for the purposes of facilitating ritual trance (Lex, 1979). Of course, there are other ways of tuning the CNS and these may be achieved through direct SNS or PNS stimulation, drugs that stimulate or inhibit either the SNS or the PNS, or mental activity (Lex, 1979).

In any case, Gellhorn and Kiely (1973) suggest that there are three stages of tuning. In stage one, one system (ergotropic or trophotropic) of the ergotropic-trophotropic equilibrium is stimulated, its response increasing while the other is inhibited, its responses decreasing. Once activated, that system continues to respond. In stage two, while the response of the stimulated system exceeds threshold, the inhibited system is now completely shut down. Stimuli that normally elicits a response in the inhibited system now elicits a response in the stimulated system. The resulting behaviour from this interesting turn of events is called the *reversal phenomenon* (Lex, 1979). Sustained stimulation in this stage can lead to stage three. In stage three, as a result of chronic or intense excitation, both systems are discharging simultaneously, synchronizing the cortical rhythms in both cerebral hemispheres. Although this resulting chronic or intense excitation may be characteristic of exposure to prolonged or excessive stress, it is also characteristic of normal physiological states like orgasm (Beltrami, 1973), rapid eye movement (REM), Zen and Yogic meditations and ecstasy (Gellhorn & Kiely, 1972). Where ritual trance is concerned, Lex (1979) states that its facilitation requires the kind of driving behaviours or practices that would tune the CNS in such a way that trophotropic dominance would be promoted. This may be achieved by direct stimulation of the PNS, by intense stimulation of the ergotropic system so that trophotropic rebound would occur, or by using both methods (Lex, 1979). Trophotropic dominance may also be achieved by reduced motor activity, promoting muscle relaxation, or conversely, by increased motor activity, promoting ergotropic stimulation so that trophotropic rebound will occur (Lex, 1979).

Given this information, it makes sense that driving behaviours in rituals such as a) perfect execution of the ritual to encourage alert, focused and heightened attention, b) stiff, jerky movements of the limbs and torso to increase muscle contraction, and c) chanting and singing to encourage hyperventilation and to provide repetitive stimuli from within and without, have all been instituted to encourage trophotropic dominance which results in ritual trance (Lex, 1979). However, achieving the trophotropic dominance required for ritual trance is not the only purpose of the driving behaviours of ritual.

Rituals have not been specifically designed only for the purpose of achieving ritual trance. Because they involve behaviours that are intense and do lead to a build-up of emotional tension through the SNS (Chapple, 1970), they have also been designed to incorporate ways in which that emotional tension can be discharged (Chapple, 1970). Although rituals have not been designed to provoke extreme stress in its participants, any individualistic alterations in the prescribed format may induce strong anxiety in the individual which could produce mixed ergotropic-trophotropic discharges in inappropriate centres in the brain, resulting in dysphasia (Lex, 1979). Rituals have, therefore, been designed to regulate the subjective experiences of participants by having symbolic content that is highly standardized so that emotional responses will be similar (Lex, 1979; Turner, 1977; Munn, 1973). Furthermore, the presence of a group during ritual performance reinforces the rule that rituals must be performed exactly as prescribed by traditions. Chapple (1970) demonstrates this point quite well with the following statement:

> In rites of passage, and, in a less obvious and dramatic sense, in rites of intensification, performance of the rites, in almost every society, is obligatory. Not only must everyone be present, but one is required to carry out the interaction forms...whatever their idiosyncratic tendencies, and the participants must carry out the interaction forms even if, as often has been observed, they have to be dragged through the motions by others. (p. 317)

Indeed, the larger group is able to reinforce the rule that rituals be performed exactly as prescribed by traditions because it provides its individual members with "frameworks of expectancy" (Douglas, 1966). Specifically, these "frameworks of expectancy" (Douglas, 1966) are achieved through the repetition of the behaviours and symbols of rituals (McManus, 1979). It is through repetition that members of a group become familiar with the ritual and with the resulting transformations that will occur (Roberts, 1988). This familiarity, therefore, provides predictability by giving members the message that they may count on the attitudes and understandings of the state and affairs of their culture and of the nature of the cosmos because these are stable and durable, and will continue (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977). This undoubtedly demonstrates the overwhelming human drive to order and understand one's universe by unifying significant sensory elements and events into a systemic, cognitive whole (Laughlin, McManus & d'Aquili, 1979), attesting to the human race's generally low tolerance for ambiguity and chaos (McManus, 1979), its generally high tolerance for social order (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977), and ultimately, its will to survive (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979).

Implicit in the overwhelming human drive to order and understand one's universe is the drive to establish systematic relationships dictated by the culture so that connectedness with others becomes possible (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977). By establishing relationships systematically, orderly interactions between members, between a member and his or her deity, or between a member and him/herself are facilitated (Smith, 1979). These systematic relationships are established through rituals which define memberships, identities, social roles and rules (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977; Imber-Black, 1986) by providing information about the part each member plays and the expected rules of interaction (Smith, 1979). Again, this gives interactions familiarity and, therefore, predictability so that members can reliably predict certain behaviours and thus appropriately choose subsequent responses (Smith, 1979). The context in which interaction takes place does impact on the shape that this interaction will be.

When interaction is homogenous and stable, a subsequent feeling of comradeship, "communitas" if you will (Turner, 1969, p. 96) is more likely. However, when interaction is chaotic and unstable, rituals are able to interrupt or manage this form of disorder among others (Laughlin

& d'Aquili, 1979) by providing a stable context (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977) in which strong feelings can be expressed, contained and supported (Scheff, 1979), so that change and development become possible (Imber-Black, 1986). Simply put, rituals can create a safe and controlled environment in which people can solve personal and social problems while validating and maintaining or re-establishing the culture's social structure (Comstock, 1972; Burns & Laughlin, 1979; Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979). Thus, "communitas" (Turner, 1969, p. 96) is restored and the cultural ideology is maintained (Moore & Myerhoff, 1977).

However, a society may find itself under one form or stress or another which if intense enough may threaten the very foundation of the cultural ideology (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979). The treatment of the Native people by the dominant world exemplifies this. Vine Deloria, Jr. (1989), in relating the treatment of Indians in the United States, has this to say about the nature of that threat:

> In the half-millennium since the discovery of the western hemisphere, almost all Indian tribes have been forcibly removed from their ancestral homelands and subjected to cultural and religious indignities comparable in many ways to the manner in which the old culture heroes were stripped of their beliefs and presuppositions. ...We immediately remember the removal of Indians from the Ohio valley and deep South as the most prominent historical instance of Indian exile. The bitter picture of thousands of Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws, their heads bowed in sorrow, walking west in the driving rain of a cold winter is deeply etched on our consciousness. Federal policy to clear the country east of the Mississippi of Indians was carried out with almost scientific precision, even gathering small bands of Winnebagos in Wisconsin and moving them a few hundred miles to Nebraska.

> Removal was understood as a sensible solution to the Indian problem until the 1890's; plans were even suggested to gather all the tribes in western Oklahoma, ring the area with forts, and maintain a massive concentration camp until such time as the Indians had either acculturated or vanished. (p. 260-261)

As part of the solution to the Indian problem, the government prohibited the practice of rituals in an attempt to destroy Indian ceremonial life (Deloria, 1989).

Needless to say, the prohibition of the practice of rituals by outsiders who have no understanding of the basis of those rituals undoubtedly has tremendous impact on the well-being of a people simply because rituals are an enactment of a culture's mythology which is the basis of its whole existence (Malinowsky, 1984; Eliade, 1958). Rituals acknowledge the relationship of the culture with the cosmos by imitating the biological and physical order of the universe (d'Aquili & Laughlin, 1979; Moore & Meyerhoff, 1977). The way that the society is structured and maintained is based on that relationship whose nature is dictated by its myths (d'Aquili & Laughlin, 1979; Eliade, 1958). Through the rituals, these myths, which permeate all levels of society, are lived (d'Aquili & Laughlin, 1979; Eliade, 1963), and it is this living of myths that gives people's lives significance, meaning and value (May, 1991; Eliade, 1963). Thus, it makes sense that without those rituals which encourage harmony within a society, its members are not able to meaningfully deal with stressful transitions or "life crises" as they pass from one stage of life to another because it is those very rituals that help them through such tough times (van Gennep, 1960).

By disallowing the opportunity to participate in rituals, they are denied the experience of being separated from the larger group and specially prepared for the new role they will adopt through new teachings (Roberts, 1988; van Gennep, 1960). They are denied the experience of marking and making the transition as they experience themselves in new ways within the safety of the larger group (Roberts, 1988; van Gennep, 1960). They are denied the experience of reintegrating with the rest of society with a new identity and a new status (Roberts, 1988; van Gennep, 1960). By prohibiting the practice of their rituals, they cannot meaningfully deal with stressful situations at all (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979) given that rituals serve as a buffer, protecting people from experiencing a disintegration of reality as they know and understand it (McManus, 1979).

It is when a society's sense of reality begins to disintegrate that confusion sets in and the loss of morale and confidence in traditional means of coping is more likely to occur (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979). Furthermore, when its people are prohibited from renewing their relationship with the cosmos and each other through their rituals, (and the intended meaning of the symbols embedded within the rituals are being lost because the people are prohibited from speaking their language), they begin to feel stressed, confused, uncertain and afraid (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979). This marks the beginning of a breakdown of an ideology that had sustained them; assimilation then becomes possible (Laughlin & d'Aquili, 1979).

In reading the literature, one can see that the importance of rituals cannot be overestimated for it is through the rituals that the novice learns about membership, about social roles and social rules such as the ethical codes of conduct (Imber-Black, 1986). One can see importance of the safety of the context of the rituals within which the novice can move from one status to another for it is a context in which connectedness is facilitated (Imber-Black, 1986).

In his studies of different rites of passage, van Gennep (1960) himself commented that the critical problems that a member of a society faces as s/he moves from one status to another are directly related to the type of devices (or lack thereof) that the society has in place to help that individual make that transition. Given that modern society has espoused individualism, members are being forced to accomplish something as critical as rites of passage alone with their own private symbols, and it is, therefore, not surprising that many end up with emotional problems or mental illness (van Gennep, 1960). In other words, modern society, being demythologized, no longer provides the same kind of safety its members need to successfully pass from one stage of life to another. There is no longer the kind of connectedness or kinship which participating in ceremonies, rites of passage or rituals were meant to encourage. Rather, modern individuals, in this age of narcissism as May (1991) describes it, are attempting to make that transition alone with no one there to ensure their safety and success, to celebrate with them once they succeed in making the transition or to support and comfort them when they do not. Hence, it does make sense that a return to rituals and their underlying myths can be powerful in our healing because they help us not only reconnect with each other (Epes Brown, 1989), but with the universe as well so that "We are not separate, but are one" (Epes Brown, 1989). Having built the research foundation with what the literature has told us about what rituals are and what rituals do, we are now ready to delve into the question of what role rituals play in the process of healing. Specifically, we are going to examine the role that rituals play in bringing healing to the lives of six Native individuals from the Edmonton area who have made a decision to rediscover their Native roots. On that note, let us now turn our attention to the method section to examine exactly what steps were taken to find out about that healing.

CHAPTER 3

Method

Introduction

Deciding on an appropriate method to deal with a research question is an issue that cannot be taken lightly. Prior to deciding on exactly how to approach the question of the experience of Native Indians who have made a decision to rediscover their Native roots through participation in rituals, the issue of what research paradigm to use had to be dealt with first. Given that my research question deals with an "uncovering" of the nature of a Native person's inter-subjective experience with a phenomenon like the rediscovery of Native roots and their personal meanings derived from that experience (Gage, 1989; Smith, 1983; Anderson, 1981), the qualitative research paradigm or simply, naturalistic inquiry, appeared to be the most appropriate choice (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Specifically, the naturalistic inquiry suggests that reality is context-bound (Gage, 1989). As such, reality is shaped by one's mind so that one's meaning is constructed in interaction with others (Smith, 1983; Anderson, 1981). Consequently, social investigation is conceptualized in such a way that social scientists cannot be neutral in the research process (Smith, 1983). Rather, social scientists, being human themselves, also construct meaning through interaction with others (Smith, 1983); therefore, it is imperative that they become aware of possible biases, judgements, values, and preconceptions when examining "social" reality (Smith, 1983).

Nevertheless, how a social scientist aims to get as close as possible to the "true" nature of that reality is dependent on the theoretical perspective chosen (Smith, 1983). Within the naturalistic inquiry paradigm, there are many theoretical perspectives such as phenomenology or hermeneutics or symbolic interactionism. Each could be suitable to help in answering a research question. With this particular process-focused research question, however, the theoretical perspective called **grounded theory**, a technique of inquiry developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967), was chosen as the appropriate method.

Theoretical Perspective: Grounded Theory Approach

Grounded theory is an interesting term because it denotes both a research method and its end-product (Lorencz, 1988). Its purpose is to conceptualize a psychosocial process by inductively deriving or generating a theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theory generation is achieved by discovering, developing and provisionally verifying it through systematic collection and analysis of data so that the theory is "grounded" in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). As such, one does not begin the research process with the assumption of a theory or an objective knowledge, which exist independently of one's interests, values or activities (Smith, 1983; Anderson, 1981), and then proceed to produce evidence to support it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Rather, one begins with the assumption that knowledge is not an objective entity but is a product of interactions with others from which meaning is created (Smith, 1983; Anderson, 1981). Therefore, through the guidance of the grounded theory approach in which, as Strauss and Corbin (1990) state, "data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other" (p. 23), whatever is relevant to the phenomenon of interest is allowed to emerge as one recursively interacts with it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The goal of grounded theory, then, is to construct a theory that remains true to and accurately reflects the phenomenon of interest (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Needless to say, how well a theory remains true to and accurately reflects a phenomenon is a matter of degree. Strauss and Corbin (1990), however, suggest that a well-constructed theory that is truly grounded in its data should meet certain criteria. Specifically, a well-constructed grounded theory should demonstrate a fit between it and the data from the phenomenon it is meant to represent (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1978). Consequently, if there is a good fit between the theory and the phenomenon, then the theory should make _sense_ and be understandable to both the research participants and the researchers (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Glaser, 1978). Furthermore, the theory, if true to the nature of the phenomenon, should be based on a comprehensive set of data which encompass a sufficiently wide range of variation (within the small sample), giving the theory _generality_ (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Finally, if the hypotheses, which propose relationships among the concepts in the theory, are systematically derived from the data, then the theory should be able to _control_ any actions taken toward the phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Of course, these well-conceived criteria for determining the quality of a grounded theory were not pulled from thin air. Rather, like a well-conceived invention, the creation of the concept of grounded theory was based on certain philosophical leanings of its inventors, Strauss and Glaser, derived from each one's background and education (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Strauss was trained in the University of Chicago where he was influenced by the writings of symbolic interactionists like Herbert Blumer and pragmatists like George Herbert Mead (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The work of these writers was to impact the shape that the grounded theory approach would take (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Specifically, Strauss believes that a theory that is grounded in reality is important to the development of a discipline (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The nature of reality is such that it is fraught with variability and complexity, process and change, constantly evolving and actively shaped by people (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Therefore, in order for a researcher to really understand the nature of that reality, it is imperative that she go out into the field to examine it, to understand the interrelationships among the conditions, meaning, and action characteristic of that reality

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Interestingly, Strauss, having had prior research experience in the field, also entertained ideas about the subtle interactions between data collection and analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). He also thought about several coding procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). However, it is in the procedures that Glaser made his contribution to the grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Glaser was trained at Columbia University where he was influenced by Paul Lazarfeld, an innovator of quantitative research methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Inspired by Lazarfeld, Glaser stresses the need for a well-conceived, systematically formulated set of procedures for coding and testing hypotheses developed during the research process (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The final goal of performing these procedures is to generate a well-grounded theory that would be useful to lay and professional audiences alike, undoubtedly a goal that Strauss himself shares (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Given the contributions of each of its inventors, it certainly appears that the respective ideas of Strauss and Glaser complement each other beautifully, Strauss providing the materials with which to build and Glaser providing the instruction manual so to speak. Nevertheless, appreciation of the beauty of the grounded theory approach takes more than understanding its basic tenets. We also need, among other things, to examine its method.

The Method of the Grounded Theory Approach

It has always been the intent of Strauss and Glaser, in designing the method of the grounded theory approach, that its user make full use of her creative capacities, and further develop her awareness of the subtle shades of meaning in the data or in other words, her **theoretical sensitivity** (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The grounded theory approach provides steps to help achieve these aims (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Specifically, the researcher following the grounded theory approach is immersed in the research process in a circular (Hutchinson, 1988) or "double-back" (Glaser, 1987) fashion in which she is continuously shifting back and forth between systematic data collection and data analysis. In other words, the results from the data collection and data analysis, both of which are done simultaneously, inform and consequently influence each other so that one guides the other (Hutchinson, 1988; Glaser, 1987). However, despite the circular nature of the relationship between data collection and data analysis, for the purposes of simplicity, their relationship will be presented in a linear fashion.

In the analysis of the data, information collected is first conceptualized by fragmenting it into specific incidents, ideas or events (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher achieves this by asking herself questions about the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Basic questions like Who? When? Where? What? How? How Much? and Why? are asked to help open up the data and give it precision and specificity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using open coding, each incident is given a name or a conceptual label to represent it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Data may be coded line-by-line, by sentence or paragraph or as an entire document (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). During this whole process, conceptual labels are constantly compared to one another in terms of similarities and differences (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Working with increasing levels of abstraction, the researcher groups similar conceptual labels into categories which are more abstract than the conceptual labels themselves (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These categories are named according to their properties which are fragmented into dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The systematic development of properties and dimensions in open coding allows the researcher to conceptualize the relationships between categories and subcategories as well as between major categories and thus, laying the foundation for the development of a grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

After open coding is completed, the researcher begins axial coding of the data in which the complex process of inductive and deductive thinking come into play (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Of course, given the circular process of data analysis itself, the researcher in reality moves back and forth between the open and the axial coding as she analyses the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In axial coding, the researcher takes the categories with their properties and dimensions developed during open coding and puts those fragments back together in terms of relationships between categories and subcategories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Hence, the researcher is still concerned with categories but attempts, with axial coding, to develop the categories beyond their properties and dimensions (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Specifically, again, using the question asking and the constant comparative techniques, each category is developed in terms of a) the conditions that led to it, b) the context within which it occurred, c) the strategies used to handle, manage and respond to it given the specific properties and the underlying dimensions of the context, and d) the consequences of those action/interaction strategies (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). After developing the categories, the researcher is better able to identify major categories and subcategories, and make statements about the relationship between them (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The researcher goes back to the data to find evidence to support or refute those statements (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using theoretical sampling, categories continue to be developed until all the properties and their dimensional locations have been identified, giving the categories variation, density, and depth (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). When the categories have all been densely developed and no new information about the categories have been discovered, and the relationships between categories and subcategories have all been established and verified, theoretical saturation can be said to have been achieved at which point data collection ends (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Having developed the categories, the researcher can move to a higher and more abstract level of analysis and can begin integration of those categories into a theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The integration of the developed categories is a difficult task that is made easier with the help of memos and diagrams which the researcher has been recording from the start of the research process and continues to record until the end of it (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Specifically, "memoing" or memo-keeping is a process in which the researcher keeps a written record of her abstract thoughts about the data while diagramming is a process in which the researcher keeps a graphic or visual record of her conceptualization of the relationships between concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Armed with these two tools, the researcher is in a better position to take these rough notes together with the developed categories and systematically develop them into a conceptual, understandable and grounded portrayal of reality (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

To develop a conceptual, understandable and grounded portrayal of reality from the memos, diagrams and developed categories gathered so far, the researcher begins integration of this information with the help of a process called selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher begins the selective coding process by identifying the story of the phenomenon under study (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). She tells the story in a descriptive fashion, writing down in a few sentences the essence of that story, the essence of what the data are trying to say (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher then moves from the descriptive to the conceptual level by developing a story line which is essentially the core category or central phenomenon around which other categories will be organized and integrated (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). With this shift, she tells the story in an analytical fashion which she begins when she gives this core category, the story line, a name (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The researcher develops the properties and dimensions of the core category after which she systematically relates the other categories to it, placing the other categories in a subsidiary position (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Again, the subsidiary categories are organized around the core category in terms of conditions, context, strategies and consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). They are organized in such a way that they fit the story in a sensible and clear fashion (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). With a clear and logical story, the researcher moves back and forth between asking questions, generating hypotheses and comparing differences and similarities in the categories so that patterns will emerge (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). If any gaps are found in the categories, the researcher goes back to fill in the missing pieces by returning to the field and collecting more data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Once all patterns have been verified in the data, a grounded theory is born and the analysis is complete (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The researcher completes the research process by laying out the theory in writing (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

The process of developing a grounded theory may appear daunting as we read about the researcher constantly moving back and forth and round and round, spiralling from one level of analysis to another. The closer the researcher is to developing a grounded theory, the more abstract a level does she find herself at. It is not unlike a scientist searching for clues to help cure a disease. Nonetheless, for the purposes of this study, the steps laid out above have been closely implemented and was tested with the first pilot study with one Native individual.

Pilot Study

The pilot study might never have come to be had I not dealt with certain field and ethical issues. Before discussing the pilot interview, I feel that these two areas must be addressed since their resolution had tremendous impact on the success of the pilot and on subsequent interviews.

Field Issues: Developing and Sustaining Field Relations

Given that the relationship between the Native world and the technological, modern world is strained from misunderstandings and prejudices, the field issue I felt I had to deal with first was developing and sustaining field relations with the Native people. Prior to working on this particular research project, I felt that I would be faced with several problems. Firstly, I am not Native. Secondly, prior to working on this research project, I had no contact with Native people. Thirdly, I did not know much about Native people, much less the Native people living in Alberta. Given my state of ignorance at the time, I was fearful of entering the field and finding informants and interviewees who would be able to help me with the project. I was fearful because I was entering unknown territory.

To overcome my fear of entering the field and making contact with Native people, I began to research books, and magazine and newspaper articles written by or about the Native people. I watched different films on the struggles that Native people are presently facing and have been facing as a result of European contact. I began to seek out people who knew Native people on a professional or a personal level so that I could listen to their stories about their relationships with them. I visited different organizations such as the Calgary Native Friendship Centre, the Aboriginal Mental Health Committee of the Canadian Mental Health Association, the Faculty of Native Studies at the University of Alberta, and Poundmaker's Lodge to find out whom I should be speaking with about my research project. I tried to absorb as much information as I could about the Native cultures, the people and the traditions by "being present" at different Native functions such as a pow-wow and a few ceremonies.

By doing all this groundwork, I suppose I was inadvertently learning how to behave in the presence of Native people. I wanted to interact with them in a manner they would consider respectful and honourable. I wanted to gain their trust, a task I knew would be most difficult, given their history of one betrayal after another. I wanted them to accept me. Interestingly, I found myself asking the questions, "Why would they trust me? Why would they accept me? Why would I be worthy of their friendship?" Needless to say, those questions propelled me towards a journey inward. They needed to know who they were dealing with and I needed, as much as possible, to know myself; therefore, I needed to learn about myself, about who I was, as much as I needed to learn about them.

What was most comforting to me about all this learning was the discovery that my own Filipino culture shares many of the same values of the Native cultures. Also, both peoples have a history of being oppressed by a dominant culture. I suppose in many ways I was preparing myself for what I intuitively knew I would face in the field given the similar histories. I knew that I would come face to face not only with distrust, but also with much anger, sadness and fear. Part of the preparation for developing and sustaining relations with the Native people was knowing how to deal with those emotions and never forgetting to behave genuinely with understanding, compassion and empathy because they, like my people, are a people who have lost much. Many other races and cultures have unethically taken from them and not given back in return. I did not intend to do the same.

Ethical Considerations

Part of developing and sustaining field relations with Native people was dealing with ethical considerations. The ethical considerations outlined by the Ethics Committee at the University of Alberta were fulfilled. The issues of informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation and the right of the interviewees to withdraw from the research at any point without prejudice were not compromised.

What concerned me more than fulfilling ethical guidelines outlined by the Ethics Committee at the University of Alberta was fulfilling ethical guidelines outlined by the Native people. I was fully aware of what the University Ethics Committee expected of me and had no difficulty acting on it. However, having very little experience interacting with Native people, I was not as sure of what they expected of me. Again, I was going into what I felt was unknown territory.

I realized that though I had read books and articles and had seen films about the culture, I still did not feel as prepared as I would have liked. You see, reading about something and having to deal with it are two very different things. One is an intellectual activity, the other, experiential and emotional. To deal with the question of how to behave ethically in the eyes of the Native people, I suppose I fell back on an old rule I was taught - treat others in a way that you yourself would like to be treated. I fell back on the cultural values that were passed down to me - respect for others, honesty, integrity, authenticity, kindness, sharing and caring. These values, which are easier said than done, became my guidelines for how to relate to Native people, particularly with respect to how to interview them in a way that was respectful of their traditions.

With respect to interviewing Native people about their experience of rediscovering their Native roots, I chose an interviewing style that was more in tune with the non-confrontational, indirect style of communication. This will be further described in the next section on the implementation of the pilot study. Furthermore, in respecting the Native traditions, I gave individuals who gave me the gift of their time and energy to meet with me and to speak about personal issues a gift (lunch or dinner) in return. Upon meeting with me, they were told that they were not obligated to participate in the interview and that if they felt uncomfortable with me, we did not have to proceed any further and that the gift from me would be for the time taken to meet with me.

Implementation of the Pilot Study

Participant

As previously mentioned, the pilot study was implemented with the help of one Native male individual who, upon asking if he would like to participate in an audiotaped interview on his experiences of rediscovering his Native roots through rituals, agreed to participate. He was contacted with the help of a friend. He was chosen because he had participated in Native rituals and ceremonies.

Addressing Ethical Concerns

Prior to asking this individual if he would like to participate in the interview, I presented him with a gift out of respect for Native ways. With this particular individual, I gave the gift of help by loaning him one of my books. I suppose in a way I was telling him that I trusted him with something that was mine. Prior to the interview, I dealt with the issues of informed consent, confidentiality, voluntary participation and the right of the individual to withdraw from the research at any point without prejudice. Once the consent form was signed, the audio-recording machine was turned on and the interview began.

Nature of the Interview

The interview was conducted in such a way that the Native way of communicating would be respected. Specifically, I began the interview by establishing a context that would encourage this individual to reflect on Native traditions and rituals. Since my interest in particular was on the process that the individual had to go through to rediscover his Native roots, I used the metaphor of the "journey" to encourage him individual to focus on that process. Realizing that the Native style of communication tended to be non-confrontational and indirect, and that silence was also important, I used the narrative form of interviewing in which I basically asked him to tell me his story, using the following as a guide:

1. What are the circumstances that encouraged you to learn more about

your Native traditions?

2. What are the circumstances that encouraged you to participate in Native rituals?
3. Tell me about the impact that this re-discovery has made in your life. How has it affected your life?
4. Tell me about the experiences you have had (both positive and negative).
5. Would you encourage other Native people to rediscover their roots?

Using basic listening skills, I kept silent throughout the interview and allowed the individual the space he needed to express himself. Questions from the interview guide were asked if and only if I felt that he, in telling his story, had not answered them. Otherwise, silence was maintained and his story-telling process was not interrupted. Also important in the interviewing process was body language. Body language, particularly eye-contact was mirrored to give him space and comfort. I turned off the audio-recording machine when he decided that he was finished speaking and invited him to lunch to express appreciation for his help.

Analysis of the Interview

I subsequently transcribed the audiotape and began data analysis. I began coding the interview by dividing the interview into meaning units. I copied each meaning unit in the right hand column of a steno notebook leaving out the time-fillers such as "um", "uh" or "you know". In the left hand column, paraphrases were written to ensure that I had understood what was said. On the bottom of each paraphrase, I recorded the codes I had chosen. In choosing a code, I attempted to stay as close to the data as possible by having in the code a word that came directly from the transcript or a variation thereof. The codes were transferred to 3x5 index cards and were sorted into what I thought were appropriate clusters. The codes that did not seem to belong anywhere were examined again together with the corresponding meaning units and original transcript. Where necessary, either new codes were selected to better capture its meaning or if they were deemed similar enough to existing codes, they were absorbed under those codes. This process was repeated until all codes fell into particular clusters and no stragglers were left. The clusters were then examined and themes given. No further analysis was attempted at this point.

Modifications to the Pilot study

A few modifications were made to the pilot study on the basis of the initial analysis to improve the quality of the interview. Firstly, with respect to the use of the metaphor of the "journey", interviewees were told that they could use other metaphors to encapsulate their experience of rediscovering their Native roots if they found that the "journey" was not suitable. Secondly, the question (Number 6), "What is your vision of the future?" was added to make the process more complete. Thirdly, a copy of the transcript was made available to the interviewees. Fourthly, the analysis of each interview was taken back to the interviewees for validation.

Implementation of Subsequent Study

Participants

In addition to the individual whom I interviewed in the pilot study, five other Native individuals, four males and one female, were interviewed. All were contacted with the help of friends and were chosen on the basis of their past participation in Native rituals and ceremonies. When the names and telephone numbers of prospective interviewees were given to me by friends, I contacted them for an initial meeting in the context of a complementary lunch or dinner from me, the purpose of which was for them to assess whether they felt comfortable with me. I talked about myself, my family background, my hopes and dreams, and about "where I have been." I discussed the purpose of my study and why I had chosen to carry out this particular study. I answered any questions they asked.

Addressing Ethical Concerns

Ethical concerns were subsequently dealt with as outlined in the pilot study. No other concerns arose. All interviewees agreed to participate in the study and another meeting was set up to carry out the interviewee.

Nature of the Interviews

The subsequent study was implemented following the steps outlined in the pilot study with the modifications added to it. I informed the interviewees that I would be transcribing the interviews shortly and that I would be contacting them for a follow-up as soon as the transcription and coding was complete to show them what I had done so far and to get feedback. I emphasized that it was important that I capture their experience as accurately as possible and that I was open to their suggestions. I subsequently invited them out to lunch or dinner as a token of my appreciation. All interviewees but one were contacted with relative ease for prompt feedback on their transcripts and the accompanying codes. The interviewee who was relatively difficulty to contact had advised me after the interview was complete that he planned to be in the North West Territories for an extended period of time. Fortunately, this individual was finally tracked down with the help of a friend and was given his transcript and codes to examine.

Analysis of the Interviews

The results of the pilot study were incorporated into those of subsequent interviews. They were analyzed according to the steps outlined in the section on the method of the grounded theory approach and the section on the analysis of the pilot study. Specifically, the steps outlined in the analysis of the pilot study were expanded so that it went from paraphrasing to open coding to axial coding to selective coding to grounded theory. Analyses was done paragraph by paragraph. Also, to become aware of any biases, judgements, values, and preconceptions, these were documented with the help of memos, diagrams and a research journal and "bracketed" throughout the research process (Quartaro, 1986). The resulting grounded theory will be discussed in the next section on findings.

CHAPTER 4

Findings

Introduction to the Participants

The six individuals who were kind enough to donate their time to help me with this project have given me their permission to either name them or to give them a pseudonym when quoting their personal stories. Their names are Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose.

Robear is a Huron Indian from Quebec who also has French and Irish blood flowing through his veins. He dreams about one day being able to use his University education to set up a communication system that will allow aboriginal people all over the world to reach one another.

Andrew is a Dene Indian from the North West Territories. Andrew was taken from his home at a young age to attend a residential school. He has travelled the world and visited other cultures. He dreams about his people being able to live off the land and becoming connected to it so that they can once again strengthen their ties to Mother Earth and to Nature.

Tuuk is an Ojibway Indian from Ontario who at the age of 27 decided to deal with his alcoholism through the Alcoholics Anonymous and Adult Children of Alcoholics Recovery Programmes. He is presently in therapy and has been so for the past six years. He is actively pursuing a University education. He enjoys learning about Jungian analytical psychology. He is delving deeper into spirituality and mysticism with the help of his Native culture. He looks forward to becoming an old man and teaching others what he has learned.

Dancing Cloud is an Indian who has mixed bloods. He is a "Walker among the three worlds": The Native, the Non-Native and the Mixed blood.

Ted is a mixed-blooded Cree Indian. He is presently pursuing a college education. He is at the very beginning stages of his journey towards rediscovering his Native roots. He is determined to "come home" to his Native culture despite his fears and continues slowly but surely to explore the Red Road that will take him home. He is also finding healing with the help of therapy.

Rose is a Cree Indian who began her road to recovery when she decided to stop abusing alcohol. She has been involved in her culture for a few years and has been walking on the Tobacco Road ever since. She is presently pursuing her education. With the help of her culture and her education, she has become determined to learn, to be creative, to stand alone and to heal. She is learning to face her pain despite her fears. She dreams of being able to help others find healing and peace using the performing arts such as drama as the medium. Although Rose is the only female in the sample, her story was not different from the others.

The stories we are about to read are about the human struggle to become whole with the help of culture and tradition - to "come home."

Coming Home: The Core Category

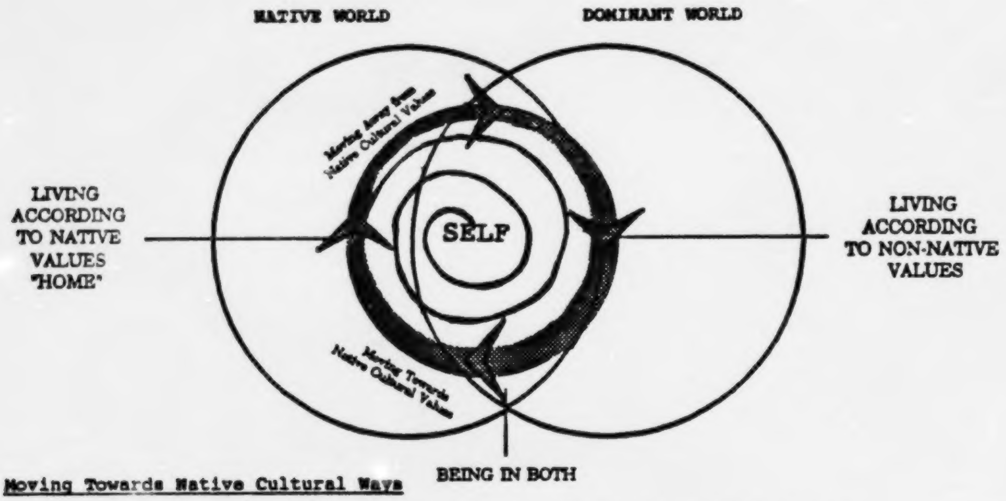
The process involved in rediscovering one's Native roots is conceptualized as "Coming Home", a phrase used by several interviewees to describe their personal journeys. The components of "Coming Home" are 1) Living according to Native cultural ways; 2) Moving away from Native cultural ways and living according to Dominant cultural ways; and 3) Moving towards Native cultural ways which finally brings them back "Home".

The movement from "Living according to Native cultural ways" to "Moving away from Native cultural ways and living according to Dominant cultural ways" to "Moving towards Native cultural values" which brings them home again is conceptualized as a circle that moves in a clockwise direction. Not all interviewees started at the same point on the circle given that some were brought up more traditionally than others depending on how much assimilation had occurred by the time they were born. For the purpose of simplicity, the process of rediscovering one's Native roots through participation in rituals will be discussed in a linear, step-by-step fashion despite the reality that many of the steps in the process occur simultaneously.

Although this paper was intended to examine the interviewees' process of rediscovering their Native roots through participation in rituals, interviewees decided to tell me their life stories from childhood to their vision of the future of which participation in rituals and ceremonies formed one part. The interviewees' earlier experiences will be presented to better understand what was happening in their lives prior to the beginning of their search. I have decided to keep their life stories whole out of respect for them since they presented them to me in that fashion. The resulting model (Figure 1) based on their life stories is presented on the following page.

Moving Away From Native Cultural Ways

- Leaving the Native Community
- Being Exposed to or Involved with Alcohol
- Being Raised According to Dominant Cultural Values


NATIVE WORLD
DOMINANT WORLD
LIVING ACCORDING TO NATIVE VALUES "HOME"
LIVING ACCORDING TO NON-NATIVE VALUES
Moving Away from Native Cultural Values
SELF
Moving Towards Native Cultural Values
BEING IN BOTH

Moving Towards Native Cultural Ways

Exploring non-Native Ways of Knowing & Healing → Something Still Missing

Exposure to Native Ways of Knowing & Healing

Exploring Native Ways of Knowing & Healing
- Meeting Key People
- Becoming Involved in Ceremonies and Rituals

TURNING POINT: Feeling an Emotional Connections to Native Cultural Ways

Dealing with Fear of Unknown
- Experiencing Self-Doubt
- Fear of Not Being Accepted

Healing Through Rituals
- Learning about Meaning of Nativeness
- Comparing Native & Dominant Cultures
  - Communication Styles
  - Religious Beliefs
  - Attitude Towards Learning
  - World View
- Facing One's Imperfections

Evaluating Changes Within Oneself → Becoming Whole
- Finding Meaning
- Having Connections

"HOME"

Visualizing the Future

FIGURE 1: "Coming Home" to My Native Roots: The Process of Rediscovery

Coming Home

Living According to Native Cultural Ways

Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose generally began talking about their personal journeys with their childhood memories of how much they lived according to Native cultural ways. Childhood memories tell us about what their lives were like at the time as well as the circumstances that moved them away from Native cultural ways. Growing up, some were more involved in Native cultural ways and others less so. Tuuk talked about his experiences growing up on a Native reserve:

> I guess for me if you're talking about the Native cultural ways, that began for me at an early age but I didn't know that it was happening for me because I remember my grandfather telling me stories when I was a kid. I remember one time I went into his...he used to live in a little log cabin about three times this room...and I went in. He was lying on his bed I recall. It was late, early evening, I guess, during the winter and he had his heater on. There was a flame. There was wood inside. It was burning and he shut off his coal lamp and he asked me to take off the lid off the wood stove. So we had all these shadows dancing all over the walls and in the house and it was really nice and warm and that's when he started telling me about stories...Throughout the years as I was growing up, my mother and father would say stuff to me about...they wouldn't say "Indian culture" or anything like that but...for instance my dad would say to me whenever you're going into another country, he says, to meet different peoples, he says, make sure that you be mindful of, pay attention to being respectful to these people because you never know what kind of people you're going to run into...He would say to me, "Be careful when you go to a new

> place...Don't talk smart. Don't spit on the ground. Don't throw paper on the ground. Just behave yourself."...And my mother would say something totally different. My father would talk about relationships with people - being respectful. My mother was a little bit different...She would say to me in her language, as I did understand it, she would say something to the effect of "Walk very carefully on the Earth." I didn't know what she meant then. I think I have an idea now...And then being in the bush with my dad...where lessons were brought home to me about having a deep respect for the forces of Nature because I remember when times we'd get into trouble...We didn't pay attention to what Nature was telling us, forewarning us and such.

Being young at the time, his understanding of Native cultural ways was not deep to begin with. Solidification of the learning of Native cultural ways could not happen for him because movement away from his Native culture occurred. Andrew also talked about being raised traditionally and then being taken away to attend boarding which widened the gap between him and his culture:

> ...I didn't really know anything about Native people although I lived, I traditionally had lots of skills...boarding school...created a big gap between traditional way of life which my parents lived...I could not communicate in my language.

Rose recalled being taught as a child about what being Native entailed:

> When I was growing up as a child, I remember my Dad telling me that we couldn't go there. We couldn't do certain things and we couldn't do this and that because we're Natives and from that I really hated Natives. I didn't wanna be a Native.

Unlike Tuuk, Andrew, and Rose, Robear grew up in a "white" value system. Needless to say, his experiences were quite different from those who were raised more traditionally. He talked about being assimilated and having no Native roots at all:

> I had to come out West to find my roots which is sort of ironic in a way. At the beginning, sort of we're down in the East. Because of assimilation, one had to start out in the West which was the end of assimilation sort of thing...Our roots are completely gone...In my situation, I have French, Irish and Huron flowing through...I was brought up Catholic.

For him, the Native cultural ways of his own people were virtually non-existent. Assimilation was more complete. Hence, his movement away from Native cultural ways was further along than those who lived in more traditional settings. Subsequently, he had to travel West to learn from a different tribe what it meant to be Native.

Like Robear, Dancing Cloud talked about living outside the Native community and not learning as much about his Native heritage. He, too, grew up in a white value system. However, unlike Robear, he realized in retrospect that despite growing up with the values of the dominant culture, many elements of his Native culture had actually been passed down to him without any conscious awareness of it happening :

> My mother and father were both Metis, mixed blood. I don't know if they ever knew much about the Metis culture at all but as far as I've been able to discover, going back at least four generations, there's been mixed bloods...Up until I was 14 years old, I did not know I was Native in any way. And the strange thing about it was in the small town that I came from I never felt any distinct prejudice at all...I was raised in what I thought was a very white value system...Nobody acknowledged or told us we were Native...I realize that the way that my parents raised me was very Native in a lot of ways

> although they never knew it. Like I remember one thing my dad always told me, "Do what you think is best". It's like I wanna do something but I need your approval and he would never say, "Do it" or "Don't do it". He said, "Do what you think is best". And there were a lot of other things now that I look back on it but at the time it just didn't click.

Ted talked about living in "white suburbia" and not knowing his roots at all even though his parents did attend different Native events like the Sun Dance and the Pow-Wow:

> ...I've always denied the Native part of me while I was growing up. I mean we're talking white suburbia sort of situation as in the picket fence and the nice house...I mean my parents occasionally when they had the chance, they would go to a Sun Dance, also to a Pow-Wow sometimes and for me it was just a curiosity. I have no idea what is taking place. I didn't really understand the rituals and the symbolism behind the rituals. Nothing like that.

Moving Away from Native Cultural Ways and Living According to Dominant Cultural Ways

Movement away from Native cultural ways occurred for Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose for three basic reasons: Having to leave the Native community; Being exposed to or involved with Alcoholism; and Being raised according to dominant cultural ways. These categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose experienced different combinations of the three. As interviewees moved further away from Native cultural ways, they began to live more and more according to Dominant cultural ways. Many losses resulted - loss of Native traditions, loss of language, loss of Native pride, and loss of Native identity.

Leaving the Native Community

Andrew talked about being taken from his Native community at age ten to attend boarding school, subsequently losing his identity as an Indian. Separated from his family and community, he was immersed in the ways of the dominant world. Although there were gains, there were many losses:

> My experience was being taken out of the community when I was ten and going to boarding school and losing my language, being raised by a nun and a priest. I was fortunate that about the same time after experiencing that boarding school from a couple of years that I was picked for one of the students I guess to participate in a sport and that took me out of the Territories and into the rest of Canada and Europe so I saw a lot of things. And yet as a Native, I've always felt uneasy about the colour of my skin and I didn't really know anything about Native people although I traditionally had a lot of skills to participate in the sport. Boarding school gave me the opportunity for education and created a big gap between traditional ways of life which my parents still lived and I really couldn't communicate in my language...As a Native person if you grew up in a boarding school and you're supported by the government and you live by rules that are not of your making, or your people's making, you lose a sense of your identity.

Tuuk talked about leaving his reserve to attend high school where he was exposed to racial prejudice for the first time. It was there that he discovered he was Indian:

> I guess for me if I ever had to say when did my discovery of the Native culture really begin, I think I'd have to say that I think when I was about maybe ten years old. But I lost it all for a great number of years...Anyway I went away for a

> while being in school, going into high school. I think that's where I got into trouble when I was in high school. I was O.K. for a while. That's where I discovered I was an Indian. That was back in '63. I was at the high school in Ontario. The reason I got to figure out I was an Indian, they told me. There was one big blond guy. One day I took his seat one time. I was sitting at the front of the bus and he said to his friends, "Yeah, I'll let this f_____' Indian have it!" "What ?! What do you mean let that f_____' Indian have it? I wanna sit down." I don't know how I handled that. I guess I got angry, bitter, frustrated, didn't know how to handle that situation. At that time, I don't think I was really into violence yet. That came later.

Being Exposed to or Involved with Alcohol

Rose, Dancing Cloud, and Ted talked about growing up in a dysfunctional family situation involving alcohol. Learning about Native cultural ways was made more difficult in such an environment. They grew up with a negative image of Natives as "drunken Indians" which influenced how they would react to Natives in the future. They talked about feeling ashamed of being Native and not wanting to be around Natives. Their identity as Native persons was lost through cultural denial. Because it was too overwhelming to deal with the pain of being Indian, they stopped feeling. Rose and Dancing Cloud became alcoholics themselves, becoming the very image of the Indian they themselves despised.

Rose talked about her experiences living in a dysfunctional family. She began drinking at a young age. All this was to have tremendous impact on her identity as a Native person:

> ...I was afraid to go to school 'cuz all my life I was told that I was stupid and that I would never become anything and that my family didn't even know I was even born...I've come

> from a dysfunctional family, like I started drinking at the age of twelve and it continued until about four years ago when I hit my bottom...Like I wouldn't even be caught dead with a Native person downtown. That's how ashamed I was.

She also talked about not wanting to be Native because of the restrictions her Dad placed on her:

> When I was growing up as a child, I remember my Dad telling me that we couldn't go there, we couldn't do certain things and we couldn't do this or that because we were Natives and from that, I really hated Natives. I didn't wanna be Native. So like most of my life, I hung around with white people and I tried to be white and I learnt their ways.

Dancing Cloud talked about his image of Natives as the stereotypical drunken Indian. He himself was to experience problems with alcohol:

> ...the liquor laws were changed and then the Indians started coming and were "allowed" to go into bars. Before that, it was a very strict "No-No". And in talking to a lot of people since then, many people say that's where the social problems came from particularly when alcohol exploded on reserves. And so I started seeing the stereotypical drunken Indian and feeling very much ashamed of what I was, not who I was because I never had a clue of who I was and wouldn't for many, many years after. And probably a couple years after that (approximately age 17) I started drinking and probably from about the age of 20 to about 22, I worked in bars...And throughout those years, I was drinking a lot and smoking dope and when anybody asked me about being Indian, I would say well, I'm French. That's part of me, probably much less than I ever suspected before.

Ted, who is at the very start of his journey towards rediscovering his roots, talked about his experience growing up with alcoholic parents. He himself is not an alcoholic. He, too, grew up with a negative image of Indians:

> Of course my parents had their own problems with their drinking, everything else like that but for me well, it was to a degree a problem for me because I didn't like to have friends over and stuff like that. So when they did their drinking actions and stuff like that, I just sort of left the house. ...I mean the imagery that I had of Natives for a long time, to a degree I still have, is a person who had a reservation with no hope and a bottle in one hand, or someone living in a bad area of the city, run-down area with no hope, and a bottle in his hand or her hand. When I was growing up, even though my parents kept up with their relatives to a degree, but it seems like every time someone Native came up that the first thing they would do was drink. That was something that I guess still bothers me to a degree because it still continues with my parents and every time I go back home, it's like I see that all the time, the local bars usually inhabited by Natives.

Unlike Rose, Dancing Cloud, and Ted, Andrew did not come from an alcoholic background. He was involved in alcoholism in a different way. He looked at his life in comparison to other Natives and felt fortunate that it had been quite good. Being deeply affected by the problems of his people, he wanted to help them. He talked about how he went about choosing a career in native employment counselling:

> I worked for the government as a Native employment counsellor and at that time they were just getting into what they call that program where they were trying to bring more Native people into the government, some kind of affirmative action.

> At the time they were struggling with why programmes weren't successful, whether it was people being late or having problems with alcohol or whatever and I guess at that time although I've experienced some negative impacts as a Native person going into another culture, I was fortunate to have a lot of good family support and have the opportunity with a sport to have a sense of self-esteem and be successful, not to let the negative things drag me down so when I got into counselling, I knew that it had something to do with that.

Robear did not share with me information on whether there was alcoholism in his background. His privacy was respected.

Being Raised According to Dominant Cultural Ways

Dancing Cloud, Ted, and Robear never knew their Native cultural ways because they were raised in the ways of the dominant world.

Dancing Cloud talked about having only a Hollywood stereotype image of the Indian. He never knew he was Indian until he had to deal with racial prejudice for the first time:

> I went to an army cadet camp at 14 in Clear Lake, Manitoba and that's where I first faced really overt unconcealed prejudice. We were in morning formation waiting to start the day and this blond kid who was somewhat smaller that me but in a way was quite vicious, he turned around , looked up at me one morning and said, "F_____' Big Indian!" So I just dropped him. I felt really good about that. Nobody's gonna insult me that way because the only image I had at the time of Indians was the Hollywood stereotypes - blood-thirsty savage, killing all the poor settlers, especially the poor soldiers and so of course I was like a lot of other kids when we played cowboys and Indians, I sure as hell never wanted to be the Indian. And so I went back home from that camp and I told Dad about this

> and it was the routine of "Sit down, son, I have something to tell you". Needless to say, I was completely shocked about that. He didn't know much and he still doesn't and he says, "You know, there is Indian in your history." I am no longer sure of the details but it ended with a curious line of "Be proud of who you are." But it was never spoken again.

Ted talked about not knowing anything about his Native heritage while he was growing up despite his parents taking him to various ceremonies. He was not taught about the ceremonies he watched:

> I mean we're talking white suburbia sort of situation as in the picket fence and the nice house. And I realized now, I guess I've realized for a long time now, it's just that part of me and I really have no idea what it's all about. I mean when my parents occasionally, when they had the chance, they would go to a Sun Dance, also a Pow-wow and for me it was just a curiosity. I have no idea what's taking place. I didn't really understand the rituals and the symbolism behind the rituals, nothing like that.

He talked about moving from his home in "white suburbia" when he was younger and having to live on a Native settlement for 5 months. Without the usual comforts of living that a non-Native settlement provided like indoor plumbing and heated rooms, adjustment to the Native settlement was difficult. Not having much exposure to Native cultural ways, he was looked upon as being "different" by the other Native children. Yet, when he went back to his home in white suburbia, he was still the different one because he was Native. He was caught in between both worlds:

> And then the one occasion we were actually living on, not a reservation, but more of a settlement...So used to indoor plumbing and heated rooms and all this stuff. Here we were living in a two-room shack with an outdoor toilet...It was

> really like I stepped into a whole different world...Here I am, city boy and townie kind of kid, trying to get into this really, really, really Native life everywhere. My parents I guess did everything possible to make sure us kids were comfortable...The kids were speaking the language, their parents were speaking the language. For me, it was so different but it was so, I guess, more rough, more rugged, more down-to-earth...I mean I didn't understand the idea of like if they took something from you, I thought of it as theft. They thought of it as borrowing - Give it back to you when I can - sort of thing...And especially when I was in school, there was always a fight...Recess was horrible. Like, if you try to play some sort of game outside, everyone is trying to outdo everyone else...Like for me I didn't mind being out there but because I was much smaller and much more different, because I was the different one, I always seem to get a lot of the barbs, the outbursts. I don't remember anything specifically but that usually seemed to be the case. But when we got out of that situation back into a more white area supposedly, then that was a whole situation because here, you're still the different one because you're Native and you're into a whole new society. It was a society I could get used to because I have more experience with it but still because of my Native look, I was always looked at differently. Because like there's always these stereotypes you expect in the end - dumb, stupid animals with knuckles running on the ground, that sort of thing.

Robear talked about the impact of assimilation on his people:

> We've been so assimilated and acculturated...A friend went down a couple of years ago and he was in Kahnawake and he was

> looking for some Indians and he looked all over the place - under a rock and in houses and everywhere - till he saw this six-foot-something white-haired, blue-eyed character and went up to him and said, "Hey, where are all the Indians around here?" And this character says, "I'm one of them." My friend couldn't believe it 'cuz he's as dark as the Earth.

Moving Towards Native Cultural Ways

Regardless of what circumstances moved Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose away from the Native world or how much time they spent in the Dominant world whether it be several years (or several generations), they talked about not feeling completely comfortable living in the Dominant world. They talked about not being able to fit in because they felt different. There was no sense of rootedness, no sense of belonging in the dominant world. Robear talked about growing up with that feeling of not belonging in the dominant world and feeling more comfortable in the Native world:

> She [my sister] always knew there was something different in us. Yet we knew it, too, but it wasn't spoken or nobody mentioned it. We thought differently. And coming up here, coming out West...and the thoughts seem to be the same. They seem to fit into a pattern...the way the people thought up here.

Andrew talked about feeling different, confused and uneasy when he was growing up in the North West Territories:

> ...I think it's a sense of confusion and a sense of uneasiness...Growing up in a small community of 400 people, I could remember sensing when I was very young that there was a big...there was a difference. It's almost a hierarchy of difference between people...between the Native, the Metis, and the Whites. It showed in the community where you have the

> church right on top. You saw it. You saw the differences in the racism there and it was very subtle. Yet you knew it was there. No one really explained it. It wasn't really prejudice but it was there.

Tuuk talked about having to leave the reservation to attend high school and not being accepted by the people of the Dominant World:

> Anyway, I went away for a while being in school, going into high school. I think that's where I got into trouble when I was in high school. I was O.K. for a while. That's where I discovered I was an Indian. That was back in '63...The reason how I got to figure out I was an Indian...they told me. There was one big blond guy. One day I took his seat one time. I was sitting at the front of the bus and he said to his friends, "Yeah, I'll let the f_____' Indian have it."...I don't know how I handled that. I guess I got angry, bitter, frustrated, didn't know how to handle that situation.

Dancing Cloud talked about learning that he was Indian and feeling very ashamed. He talked about the pain of not being accepted by the people of the Dominant world because he was Indian:

> Another feature of my life...being apart from everyone, not being a part of. Up until I was 14 years old, I did not know that I was Native in any way. And kind of strange thing about it was in the small town that I came from, I never felt any distinct prejudice at all. I was raised in a small town. I was raised in what I thought at the time was a very white value system and for the most part it was. Nobody acknowledged or told us that we were Native...I went to an army cadet at 14 in Clear Lake Manitoba and that's where I first faced really overt unconcealed prejudice. We were in morning formation waiting to start the day and this blond kid

> who was somewhat smaller than me but in a way quite vicious, he turned around, looked up at me one morning and said, "F_____' Big Indian." So I just dropped him. I felt really good about that. Nobody's gonna insult me that way. Because the only image I have of Indians or had at the time of Indians was the Hollywood stereotypes - Blood-thirsty savages, killing all the poor settlers, especially the poor soldiers and so of course I was like a lot of other kids when we play cowboys and Indians, I sure as hell never wanted to be the Indian...From about the age of 20 to about 22, I worked in bars. And I worked in one bar in my hometown. There's a reserve about 10 miles away and I saw the drunken Indians and I saw them again and again and again. The only thing was it never clicked in my mind at the time that the drunken Indians I was seeing numbered about maybe 10 or 12 at the most, the revolving drunks who were no different from the revolving door white drunks but, of course, they were much more noticeable, being that they were different skin colour...Then I worked in Calgary in a bar...And we were shutting up the place one night and there was this table full of White yahoos and I said, "Time to drink up, boys." One guy looked at me and said, "I ain't gonna have a f_____' wagon-burner tell me when to stop drinkin'." I'd never heard that before. And the head-barmaid was a Native woman and I asked her what that means and then she told me, "Circle the wagons, burn the wagons?"...And throughout all those years, I was drinking a lot and smoking dope and when anybody asked me about being Indian, I would say, "Well, I'm French." That's a part of me, probably much less that I ever have suspected before.

Ted talked about his experience of being the different one in the Dominant world even though he grew up within that world all his life:

> ...Here you're still the different one because you're Native and you're into a whole new society. It was a society I could get used to because I have more experience with it but still because of my Native look, I was always looked at differently. Because like there's always these stereotypes you expect in the end - dumb, stupid animals with knuckles running on the ground, that sort of thing.

Rose talked about learning the ways of the dominant world and still feeling that it was not enough:

> ...I remember my Dad telling me that we couldn't go there. We couldn't do certain things and we couldn't do this and that because we're Natives and from that I really hated Natives. I didn't wanna be a Native. So like most of my life, I hung around with white people and I tried to be white and I learnt their ways...but I felt always felt like I was missing something. There was a part of me that was missing and I wasn't happy...And it was my culture and my identity, where I came from that was missing.

From the above excerpts, Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted, and Rose talked about having a general feeling of emotional pain and discomfort. This was where the search for healing began.

The search for healing did not begin with immediate involvement with Native cultural ways. The "journey" towards Native cultural ways did not start out as a deliberate undertaking. Rather, it became a deliberate undertaking only after they became emotionally affected by an experience with some aspect of the Native world. Simply, something about the Native world had to reach them emotionally and touch them so that they would feel connected to it. Exposure to the Native cultural ways was not enough.

Beginning the Journey Towards the Rediscovery of Native Roots: "Coming Home"

Healing the Emotional Pain

1) Exploring Non-Native Ways of Knowing and Healing

Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose began their search for healing in a variety of ways depending on the kinds of problems they were experiencing. For Rose and Tuuk who had to deal with problems around alcohol, healing began with putting alcohol aside and doing recovery work. Rose recalled, "I came into recovery four years ago. I went to AA and then I went to NA and that was the beginning of my journey. And I went to meetings and I participated in all this healing stuff." Tuuk said,

> How does a guy rediscover his culture? I think what happens is people sober up. I did...On August 11, I think it was in 1974, I had my last drink. I went to a detox. and stayed there for 10 days. I went to a treatment centre, stayed there for a month and learned what addictions were all about, went to a halfway-house for nine months.

Ted, being an adult child of an alcoholic (ACOA), dealt with his issues in therapy. Being in therapy led to his search for his roots:

> I guess pretty much about the circumstances that led me into my search, I suppose, I guess when I started through my counselling a few years ago, it was always brought up that I'm Native and French. I guess I've always sort denied that Native part of me while I was growing up. I mean we're talking white suburbia sort of situation as in the picket fence and the nice house. Of course my parents had their own problems with their drinking, everything else like that but for me, well, it was to a degree a problem for me because I didn't like to have friends over and stuff like that so when they did their drinking actions and stuff like that, I just

> left the house...And I realized now, I guess I've realized for a long time mow, it's just that it is a part of me, my Native heritage is a part of me and I have no idea what it's all about...I mean I'm learning. I've learned things about myself for the past few years with the help of therapy and other things...a lot about myself and I guess for me to a degree it was shocking and surprising but very informative because it's opened my eyes to many things that I was doing on an everyday basis and not thinking about it.

For Andrew and Robear, their search for healing began differently. Andrew talked about his search to understand his feelings of confusion and uneasiness:

> "What propelled me? I think it's a sense of confusion and a sense of uneasiness...I've always felt uneasy about the colour of my skin...I knew there was something wrong and so when I started participating in sports, part of our training was to do with some psychology and stuff like that. I realized the power of how your thinking affects performance...I got into life skills and that's the first time that I realized that there was a lot of hidden things that I didn't understand...I never realized that I had some hidden fears or hidden hurts and stuff like that and then when I came in touch with that it was kind of like "Aha! There's more to it than I understand." And to think that I hid things from myself psychologically not to deal with it because it was so painful, to realize that I can do that and I know that I didn't really suffer any abuse like I've heard...Loss of family and relationship in a family that created a lot of those anxieties and stuff...There is statistics that show that there is a high failure rate with Native people beside the alcoholism and all the other problems

> that they were having but that there was problem with learning and I felt that for myself...I ended up in San Francisco taking this optimal learning course about accelerated learning.

Robear recalled feeling different from people in the Dominant world when he was younger. His search brought him West:

> She [my sister] always knew there was something different in us. Yet we knew it, too, but it wasn't spoken or nobody mentioned it. We thought differently....That journey is like a long and winding road. From my experience. the journey has been...I'd call it an arduous journey...I had to come out West to find my roots...Because of assimilation, one had to start out West.

Dancing Cloud began his journey differently from the others. Although as he said, "The only way things started for me is after I put alcohol aside," he did not explore non-native ways of knowing or healing. His introduction to the Native healing ceremonies began shortly after he put alcohol aside. He talked about the impact that one Native entertainer had on him at a conference:

> ...And they had this entertainer. So, I went in there fairly wasted, exhausted, wasn't drinking at the time. And he sang a song about grandfathers and I lost it. In a room full of people, I wept like I very seldom wept in my life and I wasn't thinking about my image at all because this just came on. One grandfather had died before I was born. The other grandfather died fairly soon after. I wasn't born so I never knew them. I saw a couple of pictures and that was about it. The only grandparent that I remember was my paternal grandmother who couldn't speak. So the conference was finished and on the second last day of the conference on the 10th, the morning of

> the 10th, I met a couple of friends who were Indian. We had a few beer in their hotel and that's the last time I ever drank and did drugs. And I also remember going out that night, first time I'd ever went out for the night on the town sober because I needed a few to unwind...There wasn't too many of those when I was drinking. So it's a very significant date in my life 'cuz that's the last time I ever used chemicals to change my mood with the exception of nicotine and caffeine. And the reason why this is such an important date is about a week later, my friend had been talking to me a while about sweats. I figured "sweats?" Must be a song right? I didn't know. I was a naive urban Indian. I never heard a thing about these things. And so he was saying, "They're having a sweat out in the Blood reserve on Saturday. Perhaps you'd like to go." "Hmmm, this might be interesting." So he gave me the directions and I went out there and I didn't know anybody when I first went there. I felt scared as hell. Hell, they're Indians!

Something Still Missing

Andrew and Rose realized that the non-Native methods used to deal with their emotional pain was not enough. Something was still missing. Rose talked about her experience of having an awareness of something missing but not being able to identify what it was:

> And it wasn't until two years ago when I got into acting again and I started getting parts that were all related to the Indian culture and stuff. And I felt like I was getting messages and then I was beginning to feel more and more, like I'd go to meetings (AA, NA) but I always felt like I was missing something. There was a part of me that was missing and I wasn't happy.

Andrew related a similar experience:

> I had a natural inclination to read and study about psychology. But there was always something missing.

He talked about taking the course on optimal learning and feeling the same way:

> I didn't feel very smart so I felt that going to this course would help me and it did. It showed me that in the optimal learning that we have to go beyond the way things are being taught now and get into humour and get back to nature and stuff like that and it was a very non-stressful thing and they use music and it was proven scientifically and so I can see that it had merit but even after I finished the course, there was still something missing.

Robear and Tuuk's experience of "something missing" came in the form of not feeling at home with the Dominant world. Robear recalled:

> She [my sister] always knew there was something different in us. Yet we knew it, too, but it wasn't spoken or nobody mentioned it. We thought differently.

Tuuk talked about his experience of not feeling comfortable growing up with Catholicism:

> ...Hearing Roman Catholic values and beliefs that were really imposed on us as Native people. It just didn't sit well with us. I guess their values and beliefs seemed to me...I guess we were in trouble...There's all kinds of commandments that you weren't supposed to break. What I discovered over the years that the Roman Catholicism was a shame-based religion.

Ted talked about his realization that although therapy was helping him in his search for healing, in the end, it was reconnecting with his Native roots that would help him get a more complete picture of himself:

> ...I mean I'm learning...I've learned things about myself for

> the past few years with the help of therapy and other things...a lot about myself...so for me, over the past few years, I've taken quite a few firsts. But again, I'm only scratching the surface with myself. There's so much more to me that's still so different, so I know I want to find out more. And I know for a fact that because it is so new, I'm gonna be scared. It's like the fear aspect, I know, is going to exist for a while but it's something that with a little bit of help and support, I can get through. So yeah, this is literally a rediscovery of the Native tradition. I'm just finding out who I really am but I still don't know who I really am...So I guess for myself I'm just right at the start. I'm wanting to get into...I'm wanting to learn more about what my Native heritage is all about so I can get a more complete picture of who I am. I guess that's the whole thing right now 'cuz I sort of know who I am but I don't know who I am, so it's like, well, it's really weird.

Becoming aware of their discomfort and knowing that the answer to healing their pain did not lie in the Dominant world became a key element in their movement towards the Native world.

2) Exposure to Native Ways of Knowing and Healing

Movement towards Native cultural ways was not a conscious decision for all the interviewees. Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, and Rose did not consciously plan to be at events that had to do with Native traditions. More often than not, their attendance at these events was serendipitous. Movement towards Native cultural ways started with their exposure to the Native world in some form without any real commitment to identifying with it. Tuuk talked about going to college and being exposed to people involved in their Native culture after being away from it since leaving the reserve and going to high school:

> So I went to Toronto College. I guess there that's when I started reconnecting with the Native culture again but not really. I was just around people that were involved in their culture. I really didn't pay too much attention.

Dancing Cloud talked about connecting with his Native roots when he took courses in Native American studies:

> Now, my years in the university arts and sciences was when I started to look at who I was...I took Native American Studies and then a Native American literature course. One of the things that [the Native professor] showed as part of that was a video. I think the title was "Hollywood's Image of the Indian" and I remember just getting, angry wasn't the word for it. Smoke was pouring out of my ears, rage, because it showed various images throughout the Hollywood history of what the Indians were. And there was one where Chuck Connors was given the role of Geronimo. And so he asked the producers, "How can I play the role of an Indian? I've got blue eyes. Don't I need some contacts?" And then the producers said, "Oh, no, no, no! Don't worry about that. You'll look even more authentic." I figured, "Yeah, right!!" In that course as well as in the literature course, I remember feeling a lot of anger over how Natives were portrayed and still really it wasn't how I was being portrayed because I still didn't see myself as part of that.

Rose talked about how she ended up training in a Native drug and alcohol treatment centre through a friend who worked there. Although she was exposed to the Native traditions and Native people, she, too, did not see herself as part of it in the beginning:

> When I called her [friend], she says, "What are doing?" And I told her that I was in recovery and that I still felt lost.

> I didn't know what to do with my life like there was something missing. So she says come out to the treatment centre and come and visit. So I did and that's when she said, "Why don't you train at the treatment centre?" And do I said, "Yeah, O.K, I'm not doing nothing else." And so when I started training at the treatment centre, I was around all those Native people. And it was O.K 'cuz I was on this kind of like phoney high, like it was my ego, like this here stuff, pretending that I belonged and it was really false...And the people, especially in training when I went to training when I walked into the room and I'd seen all these Indians and here I am Indian myself and I walked in there and I thought, "Oh, my God! Look at 'em." And I thought like that. I did. And I thought, "I wouldn't be caught dead with none of these." And I had a real struggle with that.

3) Exploring Native Ways of Knowing and Healing

Robear, Andrew and Ted, on the other hand, did consciously plan to be exposed to Native traditional ways of knowing and healing. Robear recalled searching for an Elder to help him reconnect with his roots:

> My first experience was with a Cree person. He was an Elder and I went up to him and talked to him and told him about my situation, about wanting to find my roots again and saying well, I'm Huron. I don't know if its gonna be the same thing or not 'cuz ours are completely gone unless one goes into the archives and find some information there. In fact, one of the chiefs of the Huron people came up here to find his roots, too. It's like go West, young man.

Andrew recalled searching for Elders who could help him understand his pain:

> ...the loss of family and relationship in a family that

> created a lot of those anxieties and stuff. So then after that I realized there's more to it, to look into it and so, that just led on to get more into trying to find Elders and people that understood those things.

Ted recalled going to his first healing circling to reconnect with his roots despite feeling afraid:

> I had an opportunity to spend a weekend workshop. Big snow storm, so I said, "No, forget it" because I was going by bus through freezing cold weather and I was like, "I don't wanna do this." But I guess to a degree there was an underlying thought, "What's gonna happen there? I don't know if I wanna go there at all." I had another opportunity around Easter for a week-long session with them. That was good timing until I went home that weekend for Easter...I ended up staying home because I was broke, had no ride and I couldn't get any busfare. So I ended up staying for an extra eight days. So I missed that one. I figured, well, I'd better do this because I am really doing it one way or another. So I went there.

While Robear and Andrew strongly identified with being Native, Ted, like the others, did not. Although he had expressed wanting to learn more about his roots to get a better sense of who he was, and had even journeyed out to attend a workshop that would bring him closer to his roots, he talked about resisting becoming emotional during his experience in the healing circle:

> ...it was just my first time in doing something like that - meeting all these different people even though to a degree we all shared the same sort of problem or problems. We were all so different. All strangers. And when you're seeing all their faces and listening to their stories, it's like "Wow" so it

> really got to me here (points to his heart) sort of thing and was like [the facilitators were] trying to...I guess encourage it but in a gentle manner sort of way and I just sort of resisted and shut down....

Meeting Key People

Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose did not go deeper into the Native world all alone. Their meeting with key people who took them deeper became an important factor in their eventual involvement with the Native cultural ways such as the ceremonies and rituals. These key people also served as positive role models. How they met key people varied. Some met them at workshops, at ceremonies, at learning institutions, at work, through friends or professors or through a combination of the above.

For Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, and Dancing Cloud, connecting with these key people affected them in a special way. They felt an emotional connection to Native cultural ways. This emotional connection became an important turning point, resulting in a deeper involvement in Native traditions. For Rose, her turning point came during participation in the ceremonies. For Ted, he talked about the experience of participating in the ceremony as being "powerful" but he had not reached a turning point that resulted in a deeper involvement in Native traditions.

Turning Point: Feeling an Emotional Connection with the Native Cultural Ways Through Exposure to Key People

Tuuk talked about how he ended up in a workshop on Native traditions given by a friend of his from the same reserve:

> Let's see...'81, I think those were the years I started really getting into the Native culture...It started off I guess really, I was working...It had to do with looking after severely emotionally disturbed children...My boss said to me, "There's a workshop in Peterborough at the Trent University.

> Apparently, a friend is putting on a workshop on Native culture." So we flew to Toronto and from Toronto, we'd go over to Peterborough and there was a group of Native people who were just getting into it. And I remember when I first heard him. He's a friend of mine. He's from the same reserve that I'm from. He kind of came along the same way I did - alcoholism and stuff like that. He managed to get two Masters degrees while doing all this. So he was doing this workshop and I was there listening. I'm not sure exactly if it was the second or the third day. I think it was a Friday-Saturday-Sunday workshop. I would say it was on the third day. He was out there on the flip chart, drawing circles and writing and talking about the Native culture, values and beliefs and the rituals and the ceremonies and everything that goes with it. I was listening to him and watching. Then something strange happened. This is when I began to think that I'm much more comfortable with what I'm hearing now as opposed to hearing Roman Catholic values and beliefs that were really imposed on us as Native people...I was comfortable in what the guy was saying. I was telling myself I've finally "Come Home". I remember for me it was an emotional experience. I remember shedding tears. All this time I've been around, I was never really awake. I didn't feel comfortable. So as soon as I heard about all these new ideas I was being introduced to, I think that this is where I belong. I feel much more grounded here than I ever was at the Roman Catholic Church or at any of the other institutions.

Unlike Tuuk, Andrew searched for people who knew about Native cultural ways to help him with his feelings of "confusion" and " uneasiness" which he believed had to with his experience of going to boarding school:

> ...the loss of family and relationship in a family that created a lot of those anxieties and stuff. So then after that I realized there's more to it, to look into it and so, that just led on to get more into trying to find Elders and people that understood those things and because I was involved in the Territories as an employment counsellor and I worked with the Native organizations...we did bring in Elders from the south who gave workshops on the Medicine wheel and how they understood relationships and there was a lot of truth in there. And I can remember the first time that in my 30's when I heard an Elder really speak about that for some reason and there was a group of thirty people. It was a circle of thirty people and there was a mixture of Native and non-Native and they're all management and stuff. And before that time I never showed any emotion other than like a year before I had taken this Life Skills and I've been involved in a few things. But up until that time, I had never expressed my emotions and something in the Elder, the way the Elder had transferred information, just, it made me feel something, a very powerful feeling to the point when in the circle, when the Elder finished their circle, they gave people a chance to finish. And I could remember the circle, as the people...it was coming around to my turn. I was feeling very emotional and normally, I would have found a way to hold back and not express that feeling but I knew in my mind that wasn't something that I should be ashamed of or be afraid of and when I did speak to him without holding back how I felt, I cried for the fact that it took me thirty years to find that.

Like Andrew, Robear made a deliberate attempt to search for someone to help him. He searched for someone who could teach him about being Native.

He talked about having to travel West to search for his Native roots because his own people have become so assimilated that their connection with their traditions are relatively non-existent. He met a Cree Elder and found "Home":

> My first experience was with a Cree person. He was an Elder and I went up to him and talked to him and told him about my situation, about wanting to find my roots again and saying well, I'm Huron. I don't know if its gonna be the same thing or not 'cuz ours are completely gone unless one goes into the archives and find some information there. In fact, one of the chiefs of the Huron people came up here to find his roots, too. It's like go West, young man. After my encounter with that Elder, we sat and we spoke for a long time. I was so happy. Ah, Home...then he introduced me to the sweatlodge.

Becoming Involved in the Ceremonies and Rituals

Becoming drawn to Native cultural ways, Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose began to become more involved with the ceremonies and rituals. The involvement in ceremonies and rituals was to be a powerful force in bringing them deeper into the Native world. It was here that they had to deal with their fear of the unknown. However, it was also here that much of the healing occurred. They learned about themselves and about traditions through their participation in ceremonies and rituals. They had to come face to face with themselves through the rituals and ceremonies. While Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, and Dancing Cloud felt a strong emotional connection with Native cultural ways when they were exposed to key people, it was in the involvement in ceremonies and rituals that Rose made an emotional connection.

Turning Point: Feeling an Emotional Connection with the Native Cultural Ways Through Involvement in Native Ceremonies and Rituals

Dancing Cloud talked about his first experience in a Native ceremony with his Native advisor:

> And one day I went to her office and I was going through some huge crises at the time. Almost all my years in University is crisis-oriented. And she said, "I want you to come into my office." And she closed the door and she said something about smudging. Hmmmm...I don't know anything about this....I didn't know anything about this and she explained a little bit about the smudging and the cleansing of the spirit and that...And so she stood beside me facing East and like I did it...And there's no words that I can use to explain but when I did that ceremony, there was some kind of change. I don't know how or why. But I felt some kind of connectedness with something or maybe...I don't know but it's like this is the next significant thing that happened.

Rose talked about her involvement in the sweatlodge while she was training at a Native drug and alcohol treatment centre:

> One day in the middle of the week of one of our training sessions, we went out for a sweat there and it was this woman's lodge and I knew somehow that that was the piece that was missing...And I knew I belonged there and I continued going and today I still go.

Robear talked about feeling awe in his first sweat:

> The first experience...it happened so long ago. Yet it's fresh in my mind and they say you always remember the first time in anything. Simple...Yet how could one...you know, when it's so simple, how does awe come into the picture, you know, versus the big cathedral and stuff like that.

Ted's experience was different. He talked about his first experience in being part of a healing circle in the first night of a weekend workshop he attended. He talked about feeling emotional but resisting expressing it.

He was not ready. He never returned for the rest of the weekend:

> The healing circle, for me, that wasn't too bad. It was really kind of nice because no matter where, you saw everyone's face. So and ditto for them to you. So I guess for me because it was new, it was really scary. It really was and talking with my therapist about it because it was just my first time in doing something like that - meeting all these different people even though to a degree we all shared the same sort of problem or problems. We were all so different. All strangers. And when you're seeing all their faces and listening to their stories, it's like "Wow" so it really got to me here (points to his heart) sort of thing and was like [they were] trying to...I guess encourage it but in a gentle manner sort of way and I just sort of resisted and shut down...It was so powerful. You could feel everything in the room.

4) Dealing with the Fear of the Unknown

Needless to say, becoming a part of the Native world involved feelings of fear because it was a relatively unknown entity. Going to a ceremony for the first time was not an easy experience for Robear, Andrew,Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose. The ceremonies were ultimately a mystery to them. They were novices. They did not know what was going to happen or what it was about. Dancing Cloud, Tuuk and Andrew talked about going through periods of self-doubt. Robear, Rose and Ted talked about their fear of not being accepted by the other Native people.

Experiencing Self-doubt

Dancing Cloud recalled his first sweatlodge experience:

> My friend had been talking to me a while about sweats. I figured, "Sweats? Must be a song, right?" I didn't know. I was a naive urban Indian. I never heard a thing about these

> things. And so he was saying, " They're having a sweat out on the reserve on Saturday. Perhaps you'd like to go." "Hm...This, might be interesting." So he gave me the directions and I went out there and I didn't know anybody when I first went there. I felt scared as hell. Hell, they're Indians...And my friend wasn't there...about five or ten minutes before we were supposed to go into the sweat, he pulls in...and he said something and I've never been able to remember. It's either take a good look around. They're no different from you or take a good look around you're no different from them. And he says, "When you go in there, just experience it for what it is. Don't question it."...So it's like, "Hey, this isn't bad. I kinda like this." So ever, ever getting deeper without ever having any kind of plan but I remember that I felt like I belonged. I wasn't judged. It's like at that time nobody says, "You don't belong here. You're white." It's like, "It's O.K." I got brown skin but I always saw white so I figured everybody else did. Nobody said anything.

Dancing Cloud also talked about his experience of self-doubt when he participated in the Sun Dance:

> I remember standing there with my pipe towards the end of the row...Anyways, I was looking off to the West and figuring , "What the hell am I doing here?" And the message came extremely quickly, "You belong here. You always were meant to be here. You're home again."

Tuuk talked about his experience of self-doubt when he went to his first fast and sweatlodge:

> In June, '81, we all went over to the Kootenay Plains and by this time I had been sober about seven years. They were all

> saying, "Well, there's fasting. Do you want to come?" "Fasting? What do you do?" "Just come," he says, "You'll discover it when you get there. So I jumped in my car...and we drove into the sunset...So, I was, "O.k., here we go" and I haven't the faintest idea why I'm doing this. All I know is that everybody else is doing it. So I'll...hell, I might as well get right into it, too....I remember...people praying and I was praying. I don't know why I was there. I was praying and I didn't know what I was praying for...Anyway, we were in the fast four days and I thought, "This is ridiculous. What am I doing?" "Why do you want to do this?"

Andrew recalled he fear of going the his first fast:

> So that was my first really, beside the sweat, the first ceremony I participated where I, I became more involved in that, how they set up the naming ceremony or the feast and the give-aways and all this sort of stuff and I didn't really understand it but it...I felt better. I felt good that I made that connection, so I made a commitment next year to want to fast. It's just one thing led to another and I realized it's something I had to do. There's something about me that when I'm afraid of something, my tendency is to attack it, to get into it and I know I was afraid to go to fast but at that...at the same time it was something that I wanted to experience.

Fear of Not Being Accepted

Robear, Rose and Ted talked about their fear of not being accepted by other Native people. Robear talked about his fear of not being accepted because he was "white-skinned." He talked about how the rituals helped him deal with that:

> From my experience, the journey has been I'd call it an arduous journey. Things don't come easy especially when

> you're white-skinned. To find one's roots, it was scary, too. Scary in a sense, am I gonna be accepted? And it's still part of that process, still of being accepted, you know. It never really ends 'cuz you'll always have I think ethnocentricity within any group...I expect to go on a Vision Seek this summer and then later to a Sun Dance. I'm apprehensive and yet I'm excited. Apprehensive because again we're back to two worlds. Down in Quebec everyone is light-skinned so there isn't a problem, but when you get up here, that becomes a problem. I always have to deal with that in my mind whether I'm accepted or not. Once I get into a sweatlodge or smoke the pipe, then I know that I am part of it. That fear goes away.

Rose recalled her fears of not being accepted:

> ...A lot of times I'd go there [to the sweat lodge] and I'd feel like the women didn't want me there, that they knew what I did in the past and they're gonna be careful of me and they weren't gonna love me and they weren't gonna accept me and it was all my own stuff but they just wanted to see how serious and committed I was into coming, learning about who I was through the Indian ways.

All except Ted continued to participate in the ceremonies despite the fear and doubt. Ted has just begun his journey. Unlike, the others who have the support of other Native people, Ted does not have much contact with Native people. The person who is his support system is his therapist who is a non-Native person:

> I don't really have a lot of contact with other Natives. In more ways than one, I actually try to stay away from other Native people. That's just my own little inner personal problem that I have with that.

He talked about wanting to know who he is as a Native person but at the same time feeling afraid of not being accepted by other Native people given that he was raised in "white suburbia":

> It's like being Native but not Native, trying to understand what Native is with groups of other Natives. How are they going to look at me? I'll still be that different person. I wanna try to fit in here. I wanna know more. I wanna learn more so hopefully, like I said, only time will tell. Just have to see what's gonna happen. So I gotta take those first steps again.

He talked about having to deal with his fear of going to his first workshop dealing with Native traditions:

> Well, O.K, last November, I had the opportunity to spend a weekend workshop. Big snowstorm so I said, "No, forget it" because I was going by bus through freezing cold weather and I was like "I don't wanna do this." But I guess to a degree there was an underlying thought, "What's gonna happen there? I don't know if I wanna go there at all.

He finally ended up going to another workshop but only attended the first night out of the three days it was happening:

> The experience itself, it started out with the sweetgrass. I don't know. It's like I don't know what's going on here so I'll just wait till you're done. So that's what I did. I waited outside and they said, "Well, we're all done here." So I went back in and that familiar smell. I know my Mom used to burn that all the time...I didn't know what was going on in there...But I did stick it out for the first evening. The rest of the weekend I have to admit I was not too encouraged to go. I don't know why. I guess I could say it was fear of this or fear of that. What this or that is, I don't know. It's just I had this sort of compelling need to decide not to

> go. So I didn't. And that's when the majority of the workshop was in the next two days and that's when all the work was done. We sort of scratched the surface on Friday...But for the first evening, it was really interesting to see what they did with the circle and all that and one sort of speaking their peace if they wanna speak or not. Like towards the end of the evening, I was really uncomfortable and they saw this. They were like egging me on. It was like I said as much as I could and then shut up. So I guess that must have played a really large factor in me not showing up for the rest of the weekend. I guess I have this fear of letting go. It's like when it comes to emotions, I gotta have this grip and I guess I just have to keep reminding myself that it's good to let go.

5) Healing through the Rituals

As they learned more about what it meant to be Native through ceremonies and rituals, Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud and Rose were able to begin the process of healing the emotional pain brought about by being separated from the Native world. A natural part of learning about Nativeness involved making comparisons between Native and non-Native cultural ways. Another part of healing through ceremonies and rituals was facing one's imperfections.

Learning About the Meaning of Nativeness

Learning about what Nativeness meant through the ceremonies and rituals was an important part of the healing process because it gave their lives meaning. Much of the healing occurred with the help of the ceremonies and rituals because the connections with Native traditions and Native people were strengthened. Andrew talked about learning through fasting to appreciate life and to become more responsible. For him, this was what Nativeness meant:

> I think psychologically what was the breaking point I suppose

> was when I got into first was the fast where you go without food and water and out in the mountains where you spend the time alone you have. You really begin to realize the value of where your life's coming from and I think that tradition had helped me understand more about life 'cuz up until that time, I was experiencing things close to me, my own successes and looking outside, my own experiences, and the fast made me appreciate what life has given to me because when you're out there like that's I suppose that's kind of the heart of the Medicine Wheel...It's a different sense of you and the world I think. And I think that's what fasting helped me is to realize that, I guess, in a Native sense that's the sacredness of life, that these things are giving you life. I guess that this is why they can say the Earth is your Mother. It is feeding you. It is giving you that life and it is that appreciation that does...it does impact...You see so much and you understand so much. It makes you more responsible...I guess it's what these rituals like fasting and Sundance does in some ways. Every culture experiences that at some point in time. They have some kind of ceremony to get you past from being a child into being responsible in the world.

Robear talked about his sense of Nativeness as having a connection to the Creator, Mother Earth and creation:

> What is the meaning of Nativeness?...I would say first of all, it's having a rapport with Creator, Mother Earth, and everything that grows upon it. Having that relationship. Our association with Earth and the respect we have for it and then our rituals come into play. Our rituals keep us connected to Mother Earth...Simple but yet so effective.

Rose talked about learning that the Earth is alive:

> And it was my culture and my identity, where I come from that was missing. And learning all about...I always wanted to know why the Earth was the way it was and why there were trees and why there were the animals and the rocks even, and since I've found my culture...like it was never...my culture was never lost. It was me and since I've found it, I'm getting all these answers...even why the little bugs and just everything is here...and the power that the Earth has, like everything's alive! Everything is alive...like She's living.

Dancing Cloud talked about the important place that the circle has in the meaning of Nativeness:

> Like our life is a circle, a Medicine Wheel. There's four parts to it. There's the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual. We also travel in a circle in life.

He talked about Nativeness in terms of Native values:

> It's like this (Native) way is a good way of life...even if you look at the basic Christian values, strip away all of the crap religion, all of the Catholicism - if you don't follow our way, you'll burn in hell - those ways...When the missionaries first came like down East, a lot of people thought that Christ would make a good Indian because of the values that Christianity taught - honesty, kindness, caring, sharing, strength, respect, all the stuff that Native people have always lived by are Christian values or what they said that that man called "Christ" brought...It's like many Natives look beyond (material possessions). It's like if you got a good heart, then we'll sit and talk and we'll share. And so if you're a jerk, it's like O.K, you're never going to get what you need and that's why a lot of people who've tried to study Natives just don't understand.

Comparing the Native and the Dominant Cultures

As Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, and Rose began to accept their Nativeness, they also began to separate themselves from the dominant culture. Comparing the Native and the Dominant cultures was a natural part of that process where they began to distinguish what was Native and what was not, what they were and what they were not. Their identity as Native people became strengthened. They looked at different aspects of Nativeness - differences in communication styles, religious beliefs, attitude towards learning and world view between the Native and the Dominant cultures.

Communication Styles

Robear, Dancing Cloud and Andrew looked at how Native people communicate. Robear talked about the importance of story-telling in Native communication:

> When one asks a question, I've noticed that we (aboriginal people) never seem to give a direct answer. The answer to the question is there but it's circular, not linear...I was at a conference not too long ago and an Elder was speaking. He talked and just talked and he had so much to say in just that talking. Questions were asked and he kept talking...giving an answer to those questions. Now most of the people there had never associated with a Native story-teller or knew anything really about the culture except through books...And they were shaking their heads. They didn't know what he's talking about. And the biggest fault is that they should just listen to the story and let the story permeate, go into their minds slowly and the truth will come out of that story. Not look for specific points because you're not gonna get a specific answer. That is not our way.

Dancing Cloud talked about the importance of listening in Native communication and why it is that people who want information from Native people often do not get it:

> It's like they come in with a preconceived set of ideas? A paradigm that's totally at odds with Native beliefs and Native ideas. And it's like they wonder why nobody ever talks to them. Well, in order to talk, you have to listen. And I've come to realize that listening is an art that's not very well understood and the essence of Native culture and tradition has always been oral. So there have been people who have been picked from childhood to be the story-tellers.

Andrew talked about the importance of approaching Native people in the proper manner when asking them to share their knowledge with you:

> ...They're willing to share their knowledge if you approach them properly and there is a proper way to approach them in terms of giving them tobacco, bringing food and stuff like that 'cuz they have suffered for their knowledge. And I think that if you don't sacrifice something of yourself when you ask for something, that you lose appreciation and you lose a lot when you don't appreciate what it is that you are given.

Robear talked about learning about silence:

> You notice there's long pauses? In the technological world today, that's (technology) the governing force really, we don't have time to think. And when we do think, we're looked upon as being slow, you know, like what's wrong with that person? ...In a European education system, we were taught to be so questioning and I had that questioning and I was always wondering why the Elder would look at me but he understood the impatience on my part....wanting to know.

Religious Beliefs

Tuuk compared Native religious beliefs and Roman Catholic beliefs:

> Roman Catholic values and beliefs were really imposed on us as Native people. It just didn't sit well with us. I guess their values and beliefs seemed to me...I guess we were in trouble...We were in trouble. There's all kinds of commandments that you weren't supposed to break. What I discovered over the years that the Roman Catholic Church was a shame-based religion. And so when I look back at the Native people, that's what they are. When I look at them, they're so full of shame and guilt and everything else...where I used to come from, when I look at what the Roman Catholic Church was doing with their laying a heavy number on guilt and shame to the people - Do this or you're going to hell. All those things we used to hear. The whole idea about religion was sin. When we talk about human beings in the Native culture, we came in here pure as children of the Creator. I have not heard any Elder in town or in the country say that when we came into the world, we were tainted. So that's the difference in the two pictures. We came into the world untainted and the way that we believe it is we are untainted whereas the Roman Catholic Church tells us that as soon as you were born, you were doomed. Sorry, but you're going to hell unless you learn your catechism and first communion and confirmation and all those things and then you might get to heaven. There's a lot of fear around. I think that's what we grew up with - the reality of the Roman Catholic Church.

Attitude towards Learning

Robear compared the difference between the two cultures' attitude towards learning. In his mind, novices in the Dominant world are not given much of an opportunity to make mistakes:

> When I first smoked the pipe, I wanted to do it right and you

> say, "Oh, how do you do it right?" And yet you're nervous and you want to show that you know and yet you don't want to. It's sort of like...again we're back to the European mindset where you're not allowed to go into something being innocent. You have to sort of think, "I know. I know." You go, "I could take care of it. No problem." And all that. So I had to shake that off. That was ingrained in me through the system.

World View

Dancing Cloud talked about the differences in the Native and European world views by telling me a story about what the Jesuit missionaries did to take care of the "Native problem":

> And there was this Jesuit missionary named Paul Lejeune who wrote a four-point plan for pacifying or making Native people into no problem any more. And I remember reading those words and feeling absolutely chilled. First of all, it was you had to change the gender roles into man superior, woman inferior as the European model was, whereas with the Native American at the time, there was gender equality. It's like there was respect for each role. And that had to be changed. The next one, you had to change the societies into one central community, preferably near a white community so you could teach them. Third one, you had to introduce the concept of punishment as a teaching tool. In the old ways, you taught a child by modelling. They would watch you and if you were making a basket, they'd watch you do it and then they'd try it. And even if the kid made a horrible mess of it, it's like, "Oh, that's very nice. Maybe if you tried something like this." And I firmly believe that there was no concept of physical punishment. There were things such as shunning.

> There were things such as if the child wasn't doing what he was supposed to at the dinner table and he'd been shown a number of times, they would turn his food basket over and then he'd have to figure out what he did wrong...So it was important to use punishment as a teaching tool (in the four-point plan) and the fourth part of this was to teach the children separate from the community and the family. That way if you could separate them, you could teach them the values and also the child would go back and teach the others. So within a generation or two, of course, you'd have all these brown-skinned people living white values. That's never worked. It never worked in 1634 and it's still not working today.

Facing One's Imperfections

Facing one's imperfections through the process of participation in ceremonies and rituals was the most difficult part of rediscovering their Native roots. It was generally an unpleasant experience. One came face to face with one's imperfections. Andrew talked about suffering in the fast. Not only was it a difficult experience physically. It was also difficult emotionally, psychologically and spiritually because he had to really face himself. It was through the suffering that he learned not to take his life for granted:

> You struggle. You really struggle after the first day...You struggle with your fears. You struggle with yourself and it made me think about different things that I would never have thought about before now that I look at it. Because it's like I, as I explained to you before, in our modern culture today, we get up and turn on the lights and we adjust the thermostat. It's a comfort zone. We don't really, we don't experience life so we can't really appreciate those other things...I think you suffer...I mean you've gotta face your imperfections

> I suppose. I think initially you suffer. I think I initially suffered but out of that suffering, I know it enriched me more even though I'm afraid to learn more, to see more.

Like Andrew, Tuuk learned much about himself through his suffering in the fast:

> When you're going through stuff like that, I guess that's the only way that there's a negative...'cuz this is when you really begin to get to know yourself in terms of your physical, your emotional, your mental and your spiritual part because when you're out there, I realize that, God, I haven't been paying attention to everything that's been going on for me. I go out eating and pigging out on food and I forget the sacredness of my body and everything else. I guess in a way, you find out things about yourself. I guess in a way, too, that are somewhat negative, that is, the Creator gave you a life on this world for you to live in a good way and yet...because we take life for granted, like I think that's a teaching. Well, when you're into fasting and rituals like that, you take in more type of teachings, insights.

He recalled one emotional experience during the fast when he realized that he was the one who left his culture and he had to take responsibility for it:

> I remember when I was out there on the third morning, it was a very, very emotional experience because I was praying to the Creator and I remember saying something to the effect that, "There were times when You seem so far away. Where are You going?" I was angry. I remember after going through my dialogue with God and such, I stayed quiet for a while. I was looking up at the sky and I heard a voice and the voice said...it was really soft and gentle...it had a feminine-

> masculine quality to it and he said, like, "I have never left you. I have never left you. I would never leave you." I remember breaking down and crying because I realized that, yeah, I'm never alone. It's only me who goes away. All the times I left, so yeah. There's a lot of times I left. I didn't care.

Like Tuuk, Rose expressed the same sentiment when she said, "...my culture was never lost. It was me..."

6) Evaluating Changes Within Oneself

Comparing what they were like before (past) and after (present) rediscovering their Native roots and evaluating those changes was an important part of the healing process as it helped them take responsibility for making those changes and to feel pride in their accomplishment, reinforcing them to keep up the work. Interviewees talked about how rediscovering their roots had brought their life meaning, and a feeling of connection to the self, to others and to spirituality. Very simply, the changes they experienced were about and "Becoming whole". As Dancing Cloud succinctly stated:

> ...Our life is a circle, a Medicine Wheel. There's four parts to it. There's the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual. We also travel in a circle. There's a song that Buffy St. Marie did that was written I believe by Joni Mitchell called the Circle Game. Now every time, everyday, we're moving to a different place in that Medicine Wheel that we call Life and so we will see things in a different way depending on how old we are.

Becoming Whole

Finding Meaning

Finding meaning was a important change for interviewees who became very deeply involved in ceremonies and rituals. The deeper the involvement, the more meaningful life became. As Tuuk recalled:

> ...Coming back to the culture and the Indian way of belief and values seems to make my life much more stronger in terms of having meaning here for me, much more deeper than the way it used to be and I think as I get a little bit more involved, the meaning gets much more deeper and yet at the same time it gets much more simple, much more finer.

Andrew talked about no longer feeling that there was something missing in his life when he found meaning and enrichment through the rituals and ceremonies:

> Through experiencing those things (ceremonies) I begin to see more meaning to my life. That's what I was looking for that was missing...And I think by being involved in these Native rituals, it's enriched my life. It has helped me see more. My relationships have changed and it has matured me in a lot of ways that this system, the education system presently could not give me...I lose a lot when I shut my feelings down and became emotionless and became very intellectual. You lose a lot. You lose a part of yourself. That's very powerful. So it is enrichment, the understanding of the Medicine Wheel, understanding those rituals, what they're trying to do. It's enrichment...I really don't think when I look back and I think that if I had a choice, would I have chosen not to look at these things (culture), I don't think so. I could never accept just living.

Having Connections

Having connections with the self, with others and with spirituality was ultimately what participation in ceremonies and rituals achieved. The more involved they became in ceremonies and rituals the more connected they felt and the less alone they became. They no longer had to go through crises alone. Dancing Cloud talked about how important being connected to his roots, to people and to himself were to him:

> Sometimes I wonder what all means. And from what I know of my own experience, it's like I have a feeling of belonging to something, belonging to a culture that is older than the hills as they say, something that's always been part of me and coincidentally has always been part of you and every human being that had walked this Earth. Because this tribal way of living or these values of respect, of honesty, of kindness, of caring and sharing and respect for Mother Earth, are a common heritage that all "homo sapiens" have had because all people have been tribal at one time. And it's like a returning to a place of where I feel at one, a part of rather than apart from people. And I feel like I'm a part of a way of living that is a nurturing way of living...It's like I feel a part of the human race. It's like I don't feel detached. I feel like I belong somewhere and that I'm accepted for who I am, not for what I have...It's like I have some knowledge of who I am as a human being.

Rose also talked about the impact that rediscovering her Native roots has had on her. She has learned to love herself, her culture, and creation:

> I live by my cultural ways. I see things that the Creator has put in my life. I've seen things that He's done for me. And since I've come into recovery four years ago, I love who I am. I love the person I am becoming. And I don't think that I would have found all of that if I hadn't found my culture. I still think I still would be lost...It was my culture and my identity, where I come from that was missing. And learning all about...I always wanted to know why the Earth was the way it was and why there were trees and why were there the animals

> and the rocks even and since I've found my culture, like my culture was never lost. It was me and since I've found it, I'm getting these answers. Even why the little bugs and just everything is here and the power that the Earth has, like everything's alive, everything is alive, like She's living.

Tuuk talked about connecting with the spiritual, emotional, psychological and physical aspects of himself through his involvement with Native cultural ways:

> I guess that the Native culture then for me, it has brought awareness into my life. If you look at other cultures, if you look at it from the outside in, if you look from the white people's point of view, what you see is Native people doing their thing. It's a spiritual experience. It's an emotional thing. It's a psychological thing. It's a physical thing. It's all these four embedded into one. It's a real important aspect in my life when I get involved. In the years, I've become much more involved with the Native culture.

Robear talked about becoming a stronger person who is connected to his roots and to his people:

> It's made me a much stronger person...Before I never used to...I used to rely on myself but I look at myself in a different way...I'm not alone anymore versus I was a strong person previously with no connections. Now I'm a strong person with connections.

Andrew talked about connecting with his Nativeness through the ceremonies:

> And I started going to sweats, helping with the sweats and stuff like that and I made a promise the next year and I did fulfil something that time when I first went and that was I wanted a name. I always somehow wanted the Native name I never had. So that was my first, really beside the sweat, the

> first ceremony I participated where I became more involved in that - how they set up the naming ceremony or the feast and the give-aways and all this sort of stuff and I didn't really understand it but I felt better. I felt good that I made that connection so I made a commitment next year to want to fast.

7) Visualizing the Future

Having talked about their journey beginning with the past and then moving into the present, they talked about where that journey would take them in the future. For Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud and Rose who have "Come Home", they felt there was still hope for a brighter future. They talked about their visions of the future where they are helping not only their own Native people find peace and healing, but also helping the non-Native people. Robear talked about the need for Native people to become educated and to educate others:

> I think the Western world has much to learn from the Native people, so much is we're to save our planet. If we're gonna do something, we have to get in touch with Mother Earth. Yeah, but how do we get the message across? You know, we've always been protectors and we've never really spoken. Well, I presume one of the reasons why we haven't spoken is we haven't been educated enough to be able to go out into the world, the field, the work...I mean areas pertaining to ecology...or have been educated enough to be able to talk at the United Nations concerning economic or ecological situations and problems but now that's starting to happen where people are starting to do that.

Andrew talked about protecting the North West Territories for all people:

> I'd like to think that the North West Territories and where I'm from is kind of the last frontier. It's the last sanctuary in the world. It's like the garden of Eden. It

> hasn't been corrupted and that people are still really free there to make a living if they want off the land. I think that that has to be protected and not just for Native people. But I think that it has to be protected for all people in the world, to experience that 'cuz we all in this civilization have gone through a point, the closest we'll come to seeing nature and that is a national park.

Tuuk talked about a world where people of all colours lived together in peace:

> A lot of people are interested and I think more curious about Native people, their ways, their beliefs and values and their rituals and the ceremonies and such. That's o.k. I mean they're curious. If they want to come to experience say one of our sweatlodges, O.K. We'd never shut the door on anybody about our ways...What I appreciate the most is that the people who are genuinely interested and want to believe these ways and actually come around over and over and over again. I guess as one of my AA friends in Toronto says, "I think deep down in my heart, I'm really a Native person. So when you hear stuff like this from other people, there's a sense of hope between two people. So there's that...I mean it's really nice to have togetherness. There's a commonness. There's no racial and social barriers, all that rigidity aside...just the experience of being together as human beings in a good way. That's really the important thing.

Tuuk also talked about his personal dream to become a teacher some day:

> I can hardly wait to be an old guy...Yeah, I'm just looking forward to that. By then, I'll be a psychologist and have gained some wisdom and I'll know a little more about ceremonies and rituals as I'll be practising them, too,

> teaching and everything else.

Like Tuuk, Rose talked about a world where all cultures share their knowledge:

> To me, it's...every culture has their own to offer. The way that I believe it...with all these cultures...to learn off one another and share what we have but other cultures could never keep what we had...Like it's just share and learn off each other and live that way and that's how we could all come together and be strong.

She, too, talked about her personal dream to become a teacher and helping people using drama as the tool:

> I like doing drama work and I would like to use that as a healing tool and...I see myself in the future being an old woman, being a teacher.

Dancing Cloud talked about listening to the Elders and following the old ways:

> ...We need to get back to more of appreciating what our Elders or the older people, older than us have to say instead of saying, "Well, gee, you know, you're 41 and you listen to the Beatles and you can't know anything about the world." It's like, yeah, well, I know a little bit. I've lived a life that I would not wish on anyone else until I put aside alcohol. And I need to tell people that. I need to tell people what happened in my life and maybe, maybe somebody will think twice before they pick up a bottle or a needle or something...But things can be different for our young ones. Our young ones don't have to have this history of five or six generations of alcoholics. And it's happening in Indian country now that so many people are going back to the old ways because it's like this whole world is just too crazy. It's like it doesn't make

> any sense any more. People are lost and so for Native people to go back to the ways that they used to live it's like trying to go back to the circle, trying to become whole again. And it's not just for Native people. It's like Fools Crow said, "It's time to teach the others."...So it's like we have to learn to celebrate our differences and come together and try and get by all this stuff.

Ted talked about his quest for a better understanding of what it means to be Native:

> I guess for the future, for my future anyway, I'd like to try to understand what Native is and be able to, once I get a better understanding of it, be able to use that in my everyday life 'cuz I know it would probably be a benefit because I'm sort of in both little worlds here, both non-Native and Native.

He also talked about supporting the Native quest for a better life:

> For Natives as a whole, it's kind of hard to say. I guess right now, everything's pretty much on a threshold. It could go bad or it could go good...and who's leading the reins and what direction to take it in...But hopefully it will work out for the good. I hope it works out pretty good...And if I can have any way of helping out in that process for it being good, most definitely I will try.

Upon listening to the stories of the journeys of these different individuals, I have come away with much respect for their courage and dedication to working hard to make a better life for themselves despite the fear and the pain that comes with healing. As Dancing Cloud once said to me, "It's scary to rediscover your roots." On that note, let us now turn to the last section, the Discussion, where the findings will be summarized and integrated with the literature.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion

The journeys of rediscovery of one's Native roots undertaken by Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose were not easy ones to make. To walk on a path that one has never known or knows very little of can be a thoroughly frightening experience particularly when one knows not where the path might lead. As I listened to, reflected on and analyzed the stories that Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose shared with me, it became clear to me that their journeys of rediscovery took them on a path that would not only acquaint or reacquaint them with their Native roots, but that these journeys would also, through reconnecting with their roots, acquaint them with themselves.

Their journeys of rediscovery dealt with more than simply the question of "What is my heritage about?". Their journeys ultimately dealt with the question of "Who am I?". Taylor and Smith (1986) in their article entitled, "*A Transformational Journey into Inner Emptiness in Akter Ahsen's Epic Poem 'Manhunt in the Desert',*" analyze Ahsen's tale and describe it as being a journey that deals with the question of "Who am I?":

> In *Manhunt in the Desert*, the storyteller and poet Akhter Ahsen develops a psychological tale of a man on a journey who, guided by intuition, wilfully approaches the unknown. The protagonist, a desert wanderer, struggles with the psychic vicissitudes and travels a lonely course of endless sand. As a fugitive in an antagonistic land, he gravitates towards his indefinite goal: He shares a problem common to modern man...Through the journeyman, Ahsen exemplifies the division in modern man where the society devalues the spiritual dimension, the ego and soul are split. The central figure walks day and night to encounter forces which are often denied

> awareness in our rational world. He encounters inner voices and images: the Crafty Being, the Spirit of the Desert, and the Messenger of Death. While physical survival challenges the traveller, his own imagination looms as one of his primary fears, and in a sense he finds himself lost. Other writers who have taken the challenge of the inner journey...find themselves in a desolate and sometimes dangerous place. In *Manhunt* (1979), the traveller sees his own reflection in the nothingness of the desert - a place to empty the ego. In the grains of sand the invitation comes to "See the Empty place" (p. 303)...These spaces lie outside of the rational realm and are discovered as the mystical place of the mind where ego may be put aside, and in the mirage-like atmosphere, both the reader and the psychic traveller may glimpse the mysteries of the unconscious and the vision of the spiritual goal...In Ahsen's epic the journeyer begins in the desert, the place of illusions, where he relies upon imagination to reveal his personal darkness. Image then...becomes the support and guide to connect to the lost soul (p. 121 - 122).

The desert wanderer travelled into his personal darkness to face, explore and accept the contradictions within himself (Loomis, 1960). Jung called this "the realization of the shadow", the shadow being the dark side of the ego-personality (von Franz, 1964). In realizing the shadow, the contents of the unconscious are brought forth into consciousness (Jung, 1971). Jung (1971) recognized that to attempt to experience this process of "realization of the shadow", which is ultimately a self-realization, was a difficult one because it meant having to come face to face with the unpleasant contents of the unconscious. However, this process was a necessary part of the journey if the journeyer was to become transformed.

Taylor and Smith (1986) go on to describe this journey in the desert as a pilgrimage in which the journeyer is attempting to "make the soul" or simply put, to become aware of and in touch with the soul. According to Taylor and Smith (1986), Ahsen offers several clues as to how to successfully survive the process of making the soul:

> First, to survive in the wilderness the traveller of psychic space needs companions of imagination (p.43). Image, then becomes friend and support for the lonely journey: "identify yourself/In the mirror of your imagination," says a messenger, Thus, the goal is to find self and soul with the aid of image. One of Ahsen's characters identified as the Crafty Being advises the journeyer to "Question the Sahara" (1979, p. 50). Sahara, the archetype of desert, takes on a more approachable quality with the designated name. The addressing of archetypal figures appears in the writings of C.G. Jung (1963) as he learned to deal with his own psychic material. When images appeared he treated them as inner people to be addressed through letter-writing or more directly in conversations (p. 186). The second way to travel in psychic space requires the journeyer to have an accepting attitude regarding death - perhaps an expectancy of the death-rebirth motif. Ahsen's journeyman was invited to dig a grave and enter - then he was told that he was now dead to life (1979, p. 214). Throughout the epic, death and life stand in juxtaposition, and later we are told that, "the Spirit of Death...is life" (p. 109). Death takes on vitality and life of its own. Ego must reckon with another dimension of life as Ahsen lures the reader into death imagery where the Spirit of Death persuades us of a timeless quality through the image of empty armour and sword...Now while the reader attends to the hope and possibility of a change of attitude, death of the old

> ways paves the new way for psychic evolution. As a third approach to psychic development the traveller must face the unconscious or darkness. The following are a few of the repeated references in *Manhunt* to approaching the deeper dimension of the psyche where both "dark" and "down" suggest images for the unconscious:
>
> > You should be taking care of darkness...(p. 114); walk,/In the illusion of the illusion:/The total darkness (p. 179); Whosoever rejects the bottom,/Is also denied the top (p. 228); Drink the Cup of Life,/From the top to the bottom (p. 229)
>
> ...Making the soul by tending the images and by exposing them to the light brings the seeker closer to the goal of wholeness (p. 122-123).

In describing this "wholeness", Taylor and Smith (1986) talk about the journeyer's encounter with a line of white swans towards the end of the journey which Cirlot (1962) suggests is a historical symbol of hermaphroditism or in other words, a coming together of the masculine and feminine principles of the psyche as it progresses towards conscious integration. A bridge is, therefore, built between the journeyer's rational and spiritual selves, resulting in the journeyer's vision of a new world (Taylor and Smith, 1986):

> The emptying process continues and within a few pages the epic culminates when the pilgrim views a new world; the reader recalls the creation myth as the waters part and the lonely traveller sees auras of many rainbows (pp. 404-405). New grass appears and the reader's imagination stirs with birth imagery. The illusion of Eve suggests a totally new creation here - with the great feminine and maternal, the desert is

> transformed with the birth of grass (p. 425). A voice admonishes the traveller to hold to what he has found: to make use of this new fabric. Here is the charge - to care for the new life; the reader senses that the birth is none other than the divine child within. Our journeyer now has his own new fabric of the grass, a piece of pure cotton, "...Untouched by civilization." Ahsen has led the reader to something new and eternal out of the world as we know it. The traveller arrives at the end of his journey after repeatedly denying the reigning ego. A new being emerges, after many deaths, to enjoy the opening of the Doors of Heaven into a New Garden. In a vision of Love, a new child is born from within the traveller (p. 124 - 125).

Having successfully dealt with the conscious integration of the contradictions within, the desert wanderer is transformed. Like a new child, the desert wanderer sees the world in a new way.

This article about the journey undertaken by the desert wanderer through unknown territory into wholeness succinctly captivates for me the essence of the journeys undertaken by Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose as they strove to understand their cultures and their "Selves". These journeys were made because the Dominant world, being freed of "superstition" and lacking in spiritual values and traditions (Jung, 1964), could not give them what they needed - answers to the question, "Who am I?" which would provide them with a life with meaning and a place to belong. What the Dominant world has done for the Native peoples is to "wound their personality" (von Franz, 1964) by bringing about the disintegration of their social organization, the loss of the meaning to their lives and moral decay (Jung, 1964). Hammerschlag (1988), in his journey of healing with Native Americans, talked about the imposition of Dominant world upon the Native peoples:

> How different the entire history of civilization would have been if the conquerors had only viewed the conquered as having the knowledge and the experience to be shared. Instead victors assume the conquered have nothing to tell them because they lost, which only reinforces the belief that there is only one viewpoint, one perspective on the way - the way to truth, to knowledge, to life (p. 15).

As such, the Dominant world attempted to turn the Native cultures into clones of itself by prohibiting the Native peoples from practising their cultures and by teaching them to worship the goddess of reason. Hammerschlag (1988) points out the problem with such a point of view:

> We now look to science to provide us with the answers to the Great Questions. But the answers to questions about meaning usually lie within ourselves. If we are comfortable only with answers that can be proven, we'll never really get comfortable. Science is not something to worship. We worship to acknowledge and revere things we *don't* understand (p. 15 - 16).

The modern world, in its reverence for Science, has become disconnected with the mysteries of the Universe (Jung, 1964). In its reverence for rationalism, it has stripped the Universe of its numinosity and has destroyed its "capacity to respond to numinous symbols and ideas" (Jung, 1964, p. 84). It has lost touch with its myths, religions and philosophies created by the archetypes or ancient primordial images common to all of humankind which are contained in the collective unconscious (Jung, 1971). It has become split off from its unconscious and as a result, Jung (1964) suggests that:

> As scientific understanding has grown, so our world has become dehumanized. Man feels himself isolated in the cosmos, because he is no longer involved in nature and has lost his emotional

> "unconscious identity" with natural phenomena. These have slowly lost their symbolic implications. Thunder is no longer the voice of an angry god, nor is lightening his avenging missile. No river contains a spirit, no tree is the life principle of man, no snake the embodiment of wisdom, no mountain cave the home of a great demon. No voices now speak to man from stones, plants, and animals, nor does he speak to them believing they can hear. His contact with nature has gone, and with it has gone the profound emotional energy that this symbolic connection supplied (p. 85).

As consciousness developed, modern individuals became split off from what was the original mind in which this primitive psychic energy was contained (Jung, 1964). The original mind, which was the whole of the personality, contained old relics such as illusions, fantasies, archaic thought forms, and fundamental instincts (Jung, 1964). Jung suggests that as children, people are born with this original mind which gives them a sense of completeness before the initial emergence of the ego-consciousness (Henderson, 1964).

As the ego-consciousness emerges, they begin to lose that sense of completeness because the unconscious and the conscious have become more and more split up (Henderson, 1964). They begin to lose contact with those old relics or archetypal images contained in the original mind (Jung, 1964). No longer can these archetypal images speak to modern individuals and no longer do they feel the emotional energy with which these images are charged for it is only when these images are charged with emotion that they gain numinosity (Jung, 1964). It is only when these images are charged with emotion that they come alive (Jung, 1964). Only in becoming dynamic can these images be released in people and have meaning for them (Jung, 1964). As Jung (1964) states:

> Those who do not realize the special feeling tone of the

> archetype end with nothing more than a jumble of mythological concepts, which can be strung together to show that everything means anything - or nothing at all. All the corpses in the world are chemically identical, but living individuals are not. Archetypes come to life only when one patiently tries to discover why and in what fashion they are meaningful to a living individual (p. 88).

Jung suggests that to regain that sense of completeness so that individuals can connect with these archetypal images, the split between the unconscious and the conscious has to heal so that the "transcendent function of the psyche" can be achieved (Henderson, 1964, p. 146). Only when there is a union between the conscious and the unconscious are people able to fully realize the potential of their individual Selves and to have a sense of greater meaning to their lives (Jung, 1964). The journeys undertaken by Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose to rediscover their Native roots offered a way for them to achieve the sense of completeness and the sense of greater meaning they could not find in the Dominant world. Rediscovering their Native roots was a way for them to heal their "wounded personalities", the split between their conscious and unconscious selves.

By rediscovering their Native roots, they were given the opportunity to heal that split so that they could reconnect with those primordial images which were lost to them with the imposition of the Dominant world. They were given the opportunity to learn about the myths and the sacred beginnings of the Native peoples and to deal with their fear of the unknown within the safe context of other Native people who would support and guide them. Through the rituals and the ceremonies, they were given the opportunity to witness the enactment of the myths and experience the awesomeness of the mysterious Universe. Their identities as Native Indians also became strengthened as they symbolically died and were reborn as members of the Native cultures. As Robin (1973) succinctly states, "Rites of passage...concern identity formation or change" (p. 1208) by "inculcating in its members knowledge of behaviors and symbols appropriate to given identities" (p. 1308). Through the rituals and ceremonies, they were given the opportunity to come face to face with the contents of their unconscious and with the opposing forces within themselves and to learn to achieve a balance between them. As they recognized their shadows, they were also given the opportunity to learn that they were imperfect and that it was alright. They were given the opportunity to become whole as they learned to reconnect with the physical, mental, emotional and spiritual aspects of themselves. By facing the darkness and journeying towards their inner centre with the help of their cultures, they found that the Universe was powerful, that their lives had meaning and that they were no longer alone.

Like Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose, many other Native Indians have made the same journey. Hammerschlag (1988) tells a story about how he met Mary, a Navajo Indian who made the journey "Home":

> One day as I was leaving Dilkon, a remote Navajo reservation town just off Arizona Highway 87, I saw a pretty long-haired young woman hitchhiking. As the father of three daughters, I am very uneasy about female hitchhikers. Too many of them end up violated..."Hop in," I told her as I pulled my van over. She accepted my hospitality without a word..."I only want a ride from you and nothing else." Jeez, I save this young woman from a fate worse than death, and in return I get snarls instead of appreciation. After a few more miles of silence, she apparently decided to make herself even clearer. "If I had a choice," she stated bluntly, "I wouldn't have taken a ride from you or from any white man."..."The white man destroyed this place of harmony," she continued. "They always

took more than they needed." On and on. Not at all a participatory conversation. She was very bright. At Winslow, I pulled the van in in front of a cafe. After a few minutes of maintaining a solitary vigil in the van, she joined me inside. "I agree with some of your ideas," I told her, now that she seemed willing to listen because she wanted to eat. "But I have worked here long enough to know that it isn't only the white people whose values have become distorted. Look at your reservation," I challenged. "It's littered with broken glass, tin cans, garbage. You've lost the path too. Being out of balance, existing in disharmony, is not a disease that favors one color of skin." It was my turn now, and I was warming up to the occasion..."All people are interested in the same things," I waxed on. "We all want a place to sleep, a family, and children to give at least as much to as we ourselves have been given. These basic desires really make us all the same." The young Navaho's response to my pontification was to belch and walk out of the cafe. I paid the tab, then joined her back in the van. If my conversation was not acceptable, if my skin color was not desirable, at least my wheels were still considered necessary. As we headed out of Winslow, she asked me what I did for a living. "I am an interpreter of dreams," I replied. Her response: "Blow it out your ass." The remainder of the ride went more quickly though the conversation was no warmer. I dropped her off at the convenience market inside the Phoenix city limits and waved good-bye. Another embittered young Indian, wrapped in anger and confusion. Some weeks later, a "Mary" left a number with my secretary. I didn't recognize the name, but when I returned the call, the voice at the other end of the line asked me to remember her. "Remind me." "I liked the ride down from Dilkon." Aha! The voice came back to me. So my bright but bitter passenger was named Mary. I truly was surprised to hear from her but delighted that she wished to talk to me about her career plans. "How about lunch sometime next week?" I offered. "That would be wonderful," she accepted. We continued our lunches for two years. Mary told me her story, and I told her mine.

As a child, Mary had sat with her oldest sister night after night waiting for her mother to come home. Mama had grown tired of waiting for Daddy to come home from the tavern, so she joined him and they both drank. Eventually, both would be driven home in the back of some relative's pickup truck. Mary excused her mother: Perhaps she really had no choice. With twelve children to support and unable to change her husband's behavior, she gave up too...Drinking is another way to suckle nurturance, I told Mary...Many Indians have been separated from what they believe in by the domination of another culture and by poverty and discrimination. When individuals find little to sustain them in being Indian, the bottle helps them escape the reality. Once Indians used alcohol as a sacrament in specific rituals, but when a sacrament is misused, it destroys the user. Whether this suicidal process goes slowly or fast, I told Mary, it stems from a simple desire to be heard and an inability to find anyone to listen.

Mary's father had been found frozen to death in a ditch, another alcoholic death. Her mother continued to drink alone. When Mary was four, she and her siblings were split up, and she was placed in an off-reservation home...Mary's early recollections of her new white family included picnics and church. She loved her new life, even though she had readily perceived that she was different from everyone else in her new environment. Church reassured Mary that if she believed, sooner or later she would become "whitesome and delightsome." Mary had convinced herself that as when grew older, her skin would turn paler. It never happened, and by thirteen she had become a sullen management problem. Mary would get into fights with teachers as well as classmates. She would dare those in authority to do something to her.

In one sense, Mary's trouble stemmed from the ordinary questions of the adolescent in search of an identity: Who am I? What do I really believe in? Mary's queries were complicated by the fact that she was not firmly planted in any unique sense of self. She was unsure of who she was ethnically or where her true home was. Mary was angry at her white mother for adopting her. She was angry with her Navajo mother for abandoning her. She had completely lost touch with her family on the reservation. As she searched for herself in this conflicting background, her schoolwork deteriorated and she began to steal from her adoptive parents. When Mary declared that she wanted to go to Indian boarding school, her social worker thought that the Indian identification might be helpful. Her adoptive parents agreed, for she had now exceeded their capacity to deal with her.

At the school, Mary discovered other young Indians who had been sent there from extreme poverty, from alcoholic abuse, from non-English speaking families, from problems in public schools. They came from a variety of tribes and from diverse backgrounds. What most of them had in common was some problem fitting in where they had been. Indian boarding schools are frequently understaffed and exhibit a critically low morale. Consequently, the teachers do not teach a lot; the students do not learn a lot; and very little behavior is controlled or constructively modified. Mary had been a scholastic star before her troubled teens had set in motion her downhill slide. In boarding school she became an academic jewel. But her identity struggle just became more complicated. The teachers loved her, but Mary did not fit in with the other students. She looked like the rest of them, but she was verbally proficient while most of the others were sullen and silent. Mary could not find happiness in a place where her peers either ignored her or ridiculed her.

One day during her first year in boarding school, Mary went shopping in a nearby mall. In a drugstore, she bent down to hold a tin of shoe polish next to her boots to see if the colors matched. The store manager appeared and asked her if she intended to steal the shoe polish. Mary answered unhesitatingly that she was just matching the colors, but he was convinced that she was lying. He next accused her of stealing items in her shopping bag that she had bought from the department store next door. Even after the department store personnel verified that Mary had paid for the items, the drugstore manager wasn't satisfied. His clear prejudice wouldn't relent. He told Mary that even if she didn't steal the shoe polish, he knew she was thinking about it. Officiously, he ushered her out the back door, telling her not to come back.

Mary cried with rage, first at him, then at whites. She beat trees, cursed, turned over garbage cans, scrubbed her room to expend some of the seemingly endless rage held in from a lifetime of not belonging. Then she started a chapter of a militant Indian organization. Her identity was becoming clear - she knew she was Indian. However she was seen by the world, she would flaunt her Indianness, her way. She got buttons, emblems, and bumper stickers. She sent away for posters of American Indian chiefs and sold them at school...For Mary, anger turned out to be the catalyst to finding the long-needed answer to the question, "Who am I?"

At eighteen, after finishing school, Mary hitchhiked to an Indian commune in California where the people called her "Proud Mary" after the Creedence Clearwater Revival's popular song. At that time, in the mid-seventies, large numbers of young Indians were struggling with what it meant to be Indian. From their political movement, spiritual communities arose, where the young studied the elders' stories, dances, and cosmology. During her time in the commune, Mary contacted a social worker who helped her locate her biological family.

Mary returned to Dilkon, hitchhiking again. At the town's only store she asked if they knew of her family. In halting English, they pointed out the direction. Mary walked two miles to a compound comprised of a wooden house, a separate earth and wood hogan, and surrounding corrals. She walked past the chickens, dogs, and bloody sheepskins to approach an old woman sitting in front of the house. This old woman could be her mother. Mary was overwhelmed with that awareness. She didn't know how she would react. Another woman came into the compound with a group of children. Luckily they all spoke English. After a few minutes of conversation, it became clear that this was Mary's sister, together with her nieces and nephews. The two sisters hugged and cried. In the next hours she learned that her brothers and sisters had returned home after their first years in foster placement. Only Mary had been adopted. The family told Mary's mother in Navajo that this stranger was her youngest daughter, the little girl she had given away long ago. But no matter how many ways they told her, the woman didn't remember having another child. The years of alcohol, poverty, and pain had taken their toll on her mind. What Mary had hoped to get from her mother, a sense of home and belonging, her mother could no longer give. But Mary could get those things from the rest of her family, who eagerly welcomed her back. Her brothers and sisters wanted to sponsor a welcoming-home ceremony. Mary was overjoyed by the prospect. This was the fulfillment of her search for a place where she belonged.

The ritual of the ceremony helped to heal the rift, the many lost years that Mary had suffered. Now she could begin to know her self, to be whole. By the time I met Mary, she had learned that you can have your feet planted in more than one place and still know who you are. Navajo medicine man and women use rituals to help restore mental and physical health. They do not reject Western medicine or psychological concepts - they only see them as limited. They see the universe as filled with many enormously powerful forces, all of which hold the potential for good and evil. If, for some reason, the balance between good and evil is upset, people get sick. You have to keep in balance if you want to stay healthy.

The traditional Navajo ceremony that Mary's family held to welcome her back helped to restore Mary's balance - and their's too. This was the way in which they could come together again and Mary could become whole. The ceremony was held in a hogan. Mary was frightened that she would make mistakes and not be able to repeat exactly the words of the prayers. Her sister helped her learn her part in the ritual. The medicine man knew every word for the entire ceremony in exactly the right order, each line with its appropriate melody. As he sang, he sprinkled multicolored sands on the ground with movements of his thumb and forefinger, creating what many believe to be the greatest folk art on this continent.

Mary stared at the sand painting in awe. It depicted a Navajo legend about a child who was lost to the tribe, but who returned in another form. The medicine man asked Mary to sit in the middle of the painting. Now she could actually mingle with the heroic figures and absorb their strength. The medicine man tied feathers and spruce on Mary and placed stone and wooden fetishes, holy objects, on her. He twirled a wooden noisemaker and made a huge roar. Mary felt the breeze from this instrument as if it were blowing her old confused and angry self away. The medicine man gave her a pipe filled with sweet tobacco. He smoked it; she smoked it; and they blew clouds of tobacco smoke over themselves and towards the sky. For everyone, the atmosphere was charged with feeling.

This was how Mary's odyssey ended. She could like flush toilets, watch television, become well educated, and still be Navajo. She could perceive the world as angry and hostile or as nurturing and sustaining. She had the choice. Mary now works among her Navajo people as a health professional.

When we met, Mary was filled with anger at her own

> exploitation, then anger at white people. She finally gave up the anger. All of what she was served to remind her not to close her eyes to other realities. By hearing all the voices within herself, Mary made a new friend.
>
> Mary kept the parts of herself in alignment by remembering the words sung in her ceremony:
>
> Happily-may you walk with God-
> Happily-may you walk-
> Happily-may you feel light within-
> Happily-with feeling may you walk-
> Happily-may you walk with God.
>
> All of us need to connect with authentic paths home.

Like Mary, Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose continue to connect with their authentic paths home. Like Mary, what propelled them to take their authentic paths home was the feeling that there was something missing in their lives - the answers to the question, "Who am I?". As Ted succinctly states:

> I'm wanting to learn more about what my Native heritage is all about so I can get a more complete picture of who I am. I guess that's the whole thing right now 'cuz I sort of know who I am but I don't know I am...so I can have a deeper understanding of the whole picture...I guess the impact is that it has me curious. It has me curious wanting this, really wanting this. It's gone beyond need.

What kept them on their authentic paths home was feeling a strong emotional connection to the Native cultural ways and finding a Native support network to guide them as they made the journey home. For them, "home" meant having a life that had meaning and a place to belong.

It is my opinion that all human beings need to live lives that have meaning and places to belong. Being able to fulfil them provides them with a sense of who they are. Hammerschlag (1988), having worked with Native Americans in the Southwest for about twenty years, recognized all too well the healing that having a sense of who one is can bring. Rediscovering one's heritage is what gives one a sense of who one is:

> I have come to see clearly that those men and women who survive crises are those who have maintained a special connection to the way. They have walked their own walk with eyes open to the people and the truths around them, without discounting the walks of others. They have developed a special sense of who they are. They have supplemented the knowledge of science with a faith in the mysterious. The lesson they have imparted to me is unquestionably this: if you are going to greet the world as an equal, your feet have to be planted firmly in some unique, prideful recognition of Self. You must learn in a good way that what you are is okay. Then you can know that others are fine too.
>
> Our civilization has encouraged us to be independent, self-steering, goal-directed. Be your own person. Do your own thing. But sometimes we feel weak. Sometimes we feel human. At those times, we need to know that we are connected to those who came before and to those who will come after us (p. 16 - 17).

Implications for Counselling

Helping other ethnic groups find, reclaim and use their cultural traditions, rites and ceremonies as part of becoming healthy and whole is not a simple matter. What I have learned from my research is that as a counsellor, I need to have my own feet firmly planted on the ground and have a sense of who I am ethnically and culturally before I can serve as a guide to others who are trying to find out who they are. For me, the answer to the question "Who am I?" cannot be answered simply. My own cultural heritage is expansive. Ethnically, I am Filipina. However, I was born and raised in Hong Kong, a tiny British colony in the Southeast coast of China. At the age of 16, my family immigrated to Canada which is now my home. Given my background, I have always found it difficult to answer the question, "Where are you from?". My feet are not as firmly planted in the ground as I would like. I myself have been uprooted and have very little sense of who I am. How then would I be able to help others find, reclaim and use their cultural traditions, rites and ceremonies as part of becoming healthy and whole? To be able to answer this question, I can only draw from what I have learned from the Native individuals who have told me their stories.

What I have learned in doing this research is that I need to rediscover my own roots so that I can understand well that whole process from an experiential perspective and not only an intellectual one. I have to access the mythology, rituals and culture of my own Filipina traditions. I have to add to that the rest of my cultural heritage - what I have learned living in the Far East and the West. These learnings also form part of my identity because they contribute to the unique person that I am. I also have to add personally significant events that I have experienced within my own family system that I feel have helped to shape me such as education, religion, alcoholism, personal losses and so forth. If I were to go to a counsellor for help with building a picture of who I am, I would like all these elements or building blocks to be taken into consideration. I would like the counsellor to be able to appreciate the different levels of me - as an individual, as a member of my family, my community, my country. I would also like to work with a counsellor who is comfortable with diversity and is flexible and not afraid to work with someone who is ethnically different. For me, such a counsellor is able to appreciate the similarities between himself or herself and the client and at the same time, is not afraid to celebrate and acknowledge the differences.

Such a counsellor in my mind is someone who is aware of the comfort levels of different cultures in terms of things like eye contact, personal space, silence. Some cultures are more comfortable with direct eye contact and others are not. Some are more comfortable when they are interacting with others with very little physical space between and others are not. Some are more comfortable when there are long silences in their conversation and others are not. The counsellor also needs to remember that there are also differences within cultural groups and not just between. Perhaps it may seem like a tall order to insist that a counsellor who wants to help other ethnic groups find, reclaim and use their cultural traditions, rites and ceremonies as part of becoming healthy and whole have all these qualities. However, Hammerschlag (1988), who has spent twenty years of his life helping people who are ethnically different from him, learned that regardless where you come from, it was important to remember this when you help others:

> Nothing functions by itself, I now realized. Everything is interrelated - body, mind, and spirit. Family, community, country. Job, education, heritage, home. History, culture, religious beliefs, principles. How we put all these together in our lives makes up the unique individuals we are. My role as a therapist was to help people discover their own uniqueness in credible, healthy ways and to find what sustains them and connect them to the larger reality of human and spiritual experience...Healing is a powerful, culturally endorsed ritual. There is no doubt that if you trust the practitioner and if you share the same cultural myths, healing is better achieved. In the final analysis, however, I must admit that the crisis of modern life are no better alleviated by psychiatrists than by visionaries, for both attempt to

> provide explanations for questions that have no simple answers. Young Indians people are coming back to reservations and communities of their forebears. They are learning their languages, their songs, their traditions. They are learning to get connected with who they are historically and spiritually. All of us need to do the same in a way that works; we need to come back to our own truths (p. 12, p. 17).

As counsellors, we, too, must walk the walk...

My "Coming Home" as a Researcher: The Thesis as an Evolution

In a way, my own journey as a researcher has been similar to those that I interviewed in that I, too, was travelling into unknown territory. I was as frightened as I was curious. I had no idea what I was going to find. All I knew was that rituals were an important part of Native traditions and that became my starting point. I initially started out with a narrow focus on rituals and their impact on the rediscovery of one's Native roots but interestingly, ended up with wonderful stories of journeys of rediscovery. I was mesmerized by these stories. This reminds me of the great Milton Erickson who always spoke in metaphors or in stories. He said that story-telling was a way to circumvent the rational mind and get to the unconscious so that as Loomis (1960) so succinctly put it, the listener could meet the story-teller with his own being and resonate together. I resonated with Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose. I suppose it was because there was so much we had in common. We were all human. I understood what they were telling me and what they were experiencing. Throughout the whole research process, I found myself not wanting to interfere with what Robear, Andrew, Tuuk, Dancing Cloud, Ted and Rose were telling me. I knew that they had decided to tell me their stories in full for a reason. As I reflected on the reason, the vision of a circle came to mind. I pictured their journeys in the shape of a circle because I remembered Dancing Cloud telling me that we all travelled in a circle. It made sense to me to keep their stories whole. I understood that everything they shared with me helped to shape who they are today - individuals who are unique in their own right. For them, it was important that I knew where they came from, where they were at, and where they were heading. For me, it was imperative that others understood the importance. It was imperative that their stories be told to others as they told it to me. I have learned much about the strength of the human spirit in doing this research. I have learned to trust my own creative process. I have experienced the beauty of sharing and have learned that I, too, am journeying towards my inner centre. I have learned what it takes to heal - to "come home".

Future Directions for Research

Needless to say, this piece of research on journeys of rediscovering one's Native roots is by no means finished. I have only focused on one ethnic group: the Native Indians living in Alberta, Canada. I feel that it is important to look at other ethnic groups to see if they, too, follow that same patterns. Do they face similar issues? If not, how are they different? What is the impact of rediscovering their roots on their lives? Are they always positive? What are the similarities and differences between their experiences and that of the Native Indians I interviewed? How would people of other ethnic groups access the mythology, rituals and culture of their own traditions? Would others benefit from experiencing ceremonies from other cultural traditions? Is there some underlying universal experience in rediscovering with one's roots? Is there some underlying universal experience in reconnecting with one's ceremonies? Do all people who come home to their roots also come home to themselves? These are some of the questions that future directions for research can take. Needless to say, rediscovering one's roots is a topic that has tremendous possibilities. I have been able to glimpse at what may happen with this piece of research. There is so much more to learn.

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Appendix A

CONSENT FORM

I, ______________________________, consent to being a participant in this study about my experience of rediscovering my Native roots through participation in rituals. I understand that my participation in this research is completely voluntary and that I may decide freely to withdraw without prejudice at any point in the research process.

I further understand that my participation will be confidential. Any names or other identifying information will be changes in the transcript process. A pen name may be substituted for my name. Audiotaped of the interview will be accessible only to the researcher and will be destroyed upon completion of the study.

Signature__________________________

Date___________________________

Appendix B

Interview Guide

1. What are the circumstances that encouraged you to learn more about your Native traditions?
2. What are the circumstances that encouraged you to participate in Native rituals?
3. Tell me about the impact that this re-discovery has made in your life. How has it affected your life?
4. Tell me about the experiences you have had (both positive and negative).
5. Would you encourage other Native people to rediscover their roots?
6. What is your vision of the future?

Appendix C

Sample of Data Analysis Based on One Theme: Dealing with the Fear of the Unknown

Text	Paraphrase	Code
Robear		
Things don't come easy especially when you're white-skinned. To find one's roots, it was scary, too, scary in a sense, am I gonna be accepted? And it's still part of that process, still of being accepted, you know. It never really ends 'cuz you'll always have I think ethnocentricity within any group.	Rediscovering my roots is not easy especially when you're white-skinned. It is scary as well because I am not sure if I am going to be accepted. Going through the process of feeling unsure of whether I will be accepted or not is part of rediscovering my Native roots. This process is never-ending because of group ethnocentricity.	*Rediscovering roots being a scary process *Being white-skinned *Fear of non-acceptance *Dealing with fear being a never-ending process *Others' being ethnocentric
I expect to go on a Vision Seek this summer and then later to a Sun Dance. I'm apprehensive and yet I'm excited. Apprehensive because again we're back to two worlds. Down in Quebec everyone is light-skinned so there isn't a problem, but when you get up here, that becomes a problem. I always have to deal with that in my mind whether I'm accepted or not. Once I get into a sweatlodge or smoke the pipe, then I know that I am part of it. That fear goes away.	I am excited about going on a Vision Seek this summer and yet I feel apprehensive at the same time because being light-skinned, I wonder if I will be accepted or not. But once I take part in a ceremony, I know I belong there and the fear disappears.	*Feeling excited yet apprehensive about going on a vision seek *Being light-skinned *Wondering about being accepted *Dealing with fear through the ceremony

Andrew ...I made a commitment next year to want to fast. It’s just one thing led to another and I realized it’s something I had to do. There’s something about me that when I’m afraid of something, my tendency is to attack it, to get into it and I know I was afraid to go to fast but at that...at the same time it was something that I wanted to experience.	I made a commitment to fast the next year. Despite my fear of going through the fast, it was something that I had to experience.	*Making a commitment to fast but feeling afraid *Wanting to experience the fast despite fear
Tuuk In June, ’81, we all went over to the Kootenay Plains and by this time I had been sober about seven years. They were all saying, "Well, there’s fasting. Do you want to come?" "Fasting? What do you do?" "Just come," he says, "You’ll discover it when you get there. So I jumped in my car...and we drove into the sunset...So, I was, "O.k., here we go" and I haven’t the faintest idea why I’m doing this. All I know is that everybody else is doing it. So I’ll...hell, I might as well get right into it, too....I remember...people praying and I was praying. I don’t know why I was there. I was praying and I didn’t	In June ’81, I was invited to go to a fast in the Kootenay Plains. I did not have the faintest idea why I was doing it. All I knew was that everyone else was. I did not know what I was doing there. People were praying and I was praying even though I had no idea what I was praying for. I thought I that my being there was ridiculous and asked myself why I was doing this.	*Going to a fast but not knowing why *Following others at the fast *Feeling ridiculous *Asking myself why

know what I was praying for...Anyway, we were in the fast four days and I thought, "This is ridiculous. What am I doing?" "Why do you want to do this?"		
Dancing Cloud		
My friend had been talking to me a while about sweats. I figured, "Sweats? Must be a song, right?" I didn't know. I was a naive urban Indian. I never heard a thing about these things. And so he was saying, " They're having a sweat out on the reserve on Saturday. Perhaps you'd like to go." "Hm...This, might be interesting." So he gave me the directions and I went out there and I didn't know anybody when I first went there. I felt scared as hell. Hell, they're Indians.	My friend had invited me to a sweat, something I had never heard of, being a naive urban Indian. I thought it might be interesting so I went. I didn't know anybody there. I was scared as hell of these Indians.	*Going to a sweat but not knowing what it was *Being naive *Feeling scared of the Indians *Not knowing anyone
I remember standing there with my pipe towards the end of the row...Anyways, I was looking off to the West and figuring , "What the hell am I doing here?"	I remember standing there with my pipe, looking off to the West wondering what the hell I was doing here.	*Not knowing what I was doing at the Sun Dance
Rose		
...A lot of times I'd go there [to the sweat lodge] and I'd feel like the women didn't want me there, that they knew what I did in the past and they're	A lot of times I go to the sweat lodge and feel that the other women did not want me, love me or accept me because they knew what I did in the past and were	*Feeling unwanted *Feeling unloved *Not feeling accepted

gonna be careful of me and they weren't gonna love me and they weren't gonna accept me.	going to be careful of me.	
Ted		
It's like being Native but not Native, trying to understand what Native is with groups of other Natives. How are they going to look at me? I'll still be that different person. I wanna try to fit in here. I wanna know more. I wanna learn more so hopefully, like I said, only time will tell. Just have to see what's gonna happen. So I gotta take those first steps again.	I feel like I am Native and at the same time not Native. I want to try to understand what Native is with other Natives but I wonder how they are going to look at me because I'll still be the different one even though I want to fit in and learn more about what Native is. I have to take those first steps again.	*Being Native and not-Native *Wanting to understand Nativeness *Wondering how Natives are going to see me *Still being the different one *Wanting to fit in *Taking those first steps again
Well, O.K, last November, I had the opportunity to spend a weekend workshop. Big snowstorm so I said, "No, forget it" because I was going by bus through freezing cold weather and I was like "I don't wanna do this." But I guess to a degree there was an underlying thought, "What's gonna happen there? I don't know if I wanna go there at all.	I had the opportunity to attend a weekend workshop last November but ended up not going because of a big snowstorm. But to a degree, I was really wondering what was going to happen in the workshop and felt unsure about wanting to find out.	*Deciding not to attend a workshop *Wondering what would happen at the workshop *Feeling unsure about unknown
The experience itself, it started out with the sweetgrass. I don't know. It's like I don't know what's going on here so I'll just wait till you're done. So	At the start of the ceremony, which began with the sweet grass, I waited outside until they were done. Although I did not know what was going on, I did stick it out for the	*Not knowing what was going on [illegible] the ceremony *Sticking it out the first day *Not feeling as encouraged towards end of first evening

That's what I did. I waited outside and they said, "Well, we're all done here." So I went back in and that familiar smell. I know my Mom used to burn that all the time...I didn't know what was going on in there...But I did stick it out for the first evening. The rest of the weekend I have to admit I was not too encouraged to go. I don't know why. I guess I could say it was fear of this or fear of that. What this or that is, I don't know. It's just I had this sort of compelling need to decide not to go. So I didn't. And that's when the majority of the workshop was in the next two days and that's when all the work was done. We sort of scratched the surface on Friday...But for the first evening, it was really interesting to see what they did with the circle and all that and one sort of speaking their peace if they wanna speak or not. Like towards the end of the evening, I was really uncomfortable and they saw this. They were like egging me on. It was like I said as much as I could and then shut up. So I guess that must have played a really large factor in me not showing up for	first night. I did not feel too encouraged for the rest of the workshop which was where most of the work took place. I felt afraid but I didn't know why. Although I found the healing circle at the start of the workshop very interesting, I began to feel more uncomfortable towards the end of the evening. The facilitators were encouraging me to express my emotions but I felt uncomfortable doing that so I shut myself off. I was afraid to let go emotionally and their encouraging me to do so was probably a large factor in me not finishing the workshop. I have to remind myself that it is good to let go.	*Feeling afraid at the workshop *Not knowing why *Being encouraged to express emotions *Feeling uncomfortable expressing emotions *Realising why I did not attend the rest of the workshop *Fear of letting go and being emotional

the rest of the weekend. I guess I have this fear of letting go. It's like when it comes to emotions, I gotta have this grip and I guess I just have to keep reminding myself that it's good to let go.

Clustering of Codes into Themes and Sub-Themes

Theme: **Dealing with the Fear of the Unknown**

Codes:
*Deciding not to attend a workshop
*Wondering what would happen at the workshop
*Feeling unsure about unknown
*Not knowing what was going on at the ceremony
*Sticking it out the first day
*Not feeling as encouraged towards end of first evening
*Feeling afraid at the workshop
*Not knowing why
*Being encouraged to express emotions
*Feeling uncomfortable expressing emotions
*Realising why I did not attend the rest of the workshop
*Fear of letting go and being emotional

Sub-Theme: **Experiencing Self-Doubt**

Codes:
*Making a commitment to fast but feeling afraid
*Wanting to fast despite fear

*Going to a fast but not knowing why
*Following others at the fast
*Feeling ridiculous
*Asking myself why

*Going to a sweat but not knowing what it was
*Being naive
*Feeling scared of the Indians
*Not knowing anyone
*Not knowing what I was doing at the Sun Dance

Sub-Theme: **Fear of Not Being Accepted**

Codes:
*Rediscovering roots being a very scary process
*Being white-skinned
*Fear of non-acceptance
*Dealing with fear being a never-ending process
*Others' being ethnocentric

*Feeling excited yet apprehensive about going to Vision Seek
*Being light-skinned
*Wondering about being accepted
*Dealing with fear through ceremony

*Feeling unwanted
*Feeling unloved
*Not feeling accepted

*Being Native and not-Native
*Wanting to understand Nativeness
*Wondering how Natives are going to see me
*Still being the different one
*Wanting to fit in
*Taking those first steps again
*Wondering how Natives are going to see me